

IN THESE TIMES

Mechanizing the
Farm—Page 12



George Ballou

Vol. 2, No. 25

May 10-16, 1978

50 Cents

DELLUMS' HEALTH SERVICE ACT

Curing the Sick Society

Photo by Bob Fitch



THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

Yasir Arafat blames the U.S.

It was 2 a.m. when we were finally taken to an apartment building in West Beirut, where Yasir Arafat was awaiting us.

Armed Palestinian troops studded the empty streets and stood crouched behind sandbags at the building's entrance. We were shown into a large office with couches lining the walls and a large map of the world with flags indicating PLO offices and countries that had recognized the PLO.

Arafat came in to greet us. He is a short, homely man with a smile that is at once friendly and enigmatic. Like his semitic relatives to the south, he often likes to answer questions with questions, or to invoke ancient sayings to buttress his points.

Arafat is not known for the depth of his analysis, but for his ability to adjust his ideas to changed circumstances and to hold the heterogeneous PLO together. In 1974, Arafat took the PLO through an immense strategic shift in which an independent state rather than a democratic secular "Israel" became its immediate goal. At that time the PLO declared its willingness to live in peace with Israel once it got its own state. During our visit, PLO leaders frequently reiterated this position, as well as their support for the joint Soviet-American declaration of last fall.

But in Lebanon, the PLO is facing unprecedented challenges. While morale is high from having stopped the Israelis south of Tyre and the Litani River, the PLO leadership recognizes that it is now sandwiched in Lebanon between the Christian rightists to the north and the Israelis to the south, with no Arab country as a possible refuge.

We had come to Lebanon as part of a fact-finding delegation, sponsored by the Arab-American University Graduates. We were fortunate to arrive during one of the more peaceful weeks in recent months, capped by the Lebanese parliament's passing a spectacularly ambiguous new accord, which the right interpreted as a mandate to disarm the Palestinians and the few left and Moslem MPs saw as a reaffirmation of the PLO's right to bear arms.

No disarming.

When I asked Arafat about the rightwing MPs' demands for Palestinian disarmament, he shrugged off their interpretations of the new accord. "The Palestinian presence cannot be reduced by a resolution that comes out of the Lebanese parliament or the Arab nations," Arafat replied.

Other PLO leaders we talked to expanded on this point. The PLO blames their massive defeat in 1970 at the hands of Jordan's King Hussein on having accepted his demand for disarmament. They are not going to make that mistake again.

Arafat doubted that the Israelis "will withdraw completely" from the South. If not, I asked him, would the PLO resume armed struggle in the south? "Our allies, the Lebanese National Movement," Arafat replied, "have the right to resist occupation, and can I leave my allies out?"

With the Lebanese National Movement, the coalition of parties pledged to support the Palestinians and to reform of the Lebanese political structure, having already decided to resume armed operations in the south, the import of Arafat's question was clear. War would soon be back on the Lebanese agenda.

The American occupation.

Who is to blame for the Lebanese imbroglio and the PLO's straitened circumstances? While citing the Israeli raids against Lebanon, which began in 1969 and climaxed in the March invasion and occupation, and the role of the predominantly Christian rightwing, which has been determined to drive the Palestinians out of Lebanon, Arafat placed principal responsibility on the U.S. He even referred to the Israeli occupation as the

"American occupation."

He blames the current strife in Lebanon on the CIA. "According to my complete information," he said, "what is going on in Lebanon is something coming from the CIA. In the future, one of these officers will write a memoir about the Lebanese Civil War just as happened in Chile and Guatemala."

He sees the current American military aid to the Lebanese army, which already totals \$70 million this year, as an attempt to strengthen the right, which currently controls the army. Echoing charges we had often heard, Arafat accused the rightwing of using U.S.-donated anti-tank weapons in a recent battle with the Syrians.

When I asked Arafat what he thought the U.S. hoped to gain, he dismissed the idea that the Zionist lobby in Washington was responsible. "It is a line in their policy," he said. When I pressed him about American purposes, he replied. "You have to ask your ex-Prime Minister Dr. Kissinger."

But other PLO leaders, less burdened by the responsibilities of international diplomacy, answered the question. According to them, the U.S. is trying to build a pro-Western bloc from among Egypt, Israel, and Saudi Arabia that could preserve stability and prevent revolution in the area. Essential to achieving this was the "annihilation" of the PLO (to use Begin's term), whose existence prevented an *entente cordiale* between the three countries. If it took an Israeli invasion and renewed civil war to do this, so be it.

In Lebanon right now, PLO spokesmen said, the American plan was to unite Christians and moderate Moslems, and then to pressure the Palestinians into disarmament, first politically, but if necessary with the use of a revived Lebanese army.

Was this paranoia—the typical ravings of a movement in distress? Or was there some basis to the PLO fears?

Is the U.S. at it again?

As long as I was in Lebanon to "find facts," and not to confirm previous beliefs, I thought I should not limit myself to the left and the PLO, but try to talk to representatives of other forces in the area. Along with other journalists on the trip, I went to the American embassy. The embassy is in a large mansion on the Beirut waterfront, removed from the scene of the civil war. It has the largest staff of any in Lebanon. It is guarded by

Saudi soldiers on the outside and U.S. Marines on the inside.

Ambassador Richard Parker is a career diplomat who is noted for public moderation on Mideast issues. I expected the Arafat analysis to suffer a setback from my visit to Parker.

But without prompting, Parker shed his dove's coat and lit into the Palestinians.

According to Parker, the Israelis had made an "error" in stopping short of Tyre, which Parker described as a "focus of infection" of the Palestinian movement. He recognized that Israeli forces had suffered unusual casualties in getting as far as they did, but he would have had them go on. The Palestinians in Lebanon were a "law unto themselves," Parker said. Some means had to be found to disarm them and get them out of Beirut, either into the camps or out of the country.

Parker believes the accord can be used to legitimate a demand for Palestinian disarmament. He had just had lunch with Camille Chamoun, one of the rightwing leaders, in an effort to persuade Chamoun to try out this strategy.

Parker denied that American arms supplied to the Lebanese army were intended to aid the Christians, although he neither denied nor affirmed their use in recent battles. In line with the rest of the American plan, the U.S. is seeking to build a united Moslem-Christian army that could be used to disarm the Palestinians.

A risk we have to take.

Later in the week, I also talked to Camille's son, Dory Chamoun, the political spokesman for his father's National Liberal party. As one of Lebanon's rightwing Christian parties, the National Liberals believe that up to half of the Palestinians living in Lebanon must be driven out of the country. Chamoun's office was on the fifth floor of a heavily guarded high-rise.

In between excoriating the Palestinians as "rabble" and "microbes" in a manner that would have made Joseph Goebbels proud, Chamoun acknowledged that the American role had improved. "They have taken some of the crude oil from their eyes," he said.

Chamoun denied that the rightists were using American arms intended for the government. (Israel is their main supplier, he said.) But he confirmed that in the

Continued on page 18.



John Judis

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except for the fourth week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc. 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor, M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor, Doyle Niemann, Managing Editor, John Judis, Foreign News Editor, Janet Stevenson, Cultural Editor, Dan Marshall, David Moberg, National Staff, Diana Johnstone (Paris), Mervyn Jones (London), Bruce Vandervort (Geneva), Foreign Correspondents, Elizabeth Price, Editorial Assistant, Bill Burr, Keenen Peck, Steve Rosswurm, Librarians.

ART

Kerry Tremain, Art Director, Tom Greensfelder, Associate Art Director, Nori Davis, Assistant Art Director, Jim Rinnert, Composition, Pam Rice, Camera, Ken Firestone, Photographer.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, Co-publishers, Nick Rabkin, General Manager, Ellen Deirdre Murphy, Advertising/Business, Ed Starr, Promotion & Development, Mary Elaine Jans, Office.

BUREAUS

CA 90291, (213) 931-9351.
SAN FRANCISCO: Chris Dorr, 140 Sanchez St., San Francisco, CA 94114, (415) 626-7897.
SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308 (404) 881-1689.
NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638.
BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 123 Oxford St., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 864-8689.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrader, Derek Shearer, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weissstein, William A. Williams, John Womack Jr.

The entire contents of IN THESE TIMES is copyright ©1978 by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission from the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. Subscriptions, address changes, and adjustments should be sent to IN THESE TIMES, Circulation Department. Subscriptions are \$17.50/year. Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by IN THESE TIMES become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.

This edition (Vol. 2, No. 25) published May 10, 1978, for newsstand sales May 10-16.

Letting the Left Hand Know

By David Moberg

UNION MEMBERS ATTENDING regional meetings of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education this spring have been granted by a new horror movie. Its ominous narration, reminiscent of "red scare" movies from the '50s, warns of people who are "programmed," of "front-men," of elaborate mailing operations raising millions of dollars working from behind "double-locked and sealed" doors and a spreading wave of politics based on fear.

Yet the title of this particular film is *Right Wing Machine*. Its subject is the "new right," especially groups actively fighting labor law reform and opposing any union influence in politics.

The film is only one sign of a growing concern among mainstream liberal organizations about the threat from the far right. Often caught off guard, confused and fragmented in their own work, and groping to figure out the changing political climate in the U.S., liberal Democrats established labor unions, feminists, liberal educators, religious leaders, and advocates of peace and demilitarization have recently suffered defeats or been seriously handicapped by the clout of the new right.

A couple hundred representatives of such groups gathered in Washington April 17-19 to educate themselves about the right. At the close of their meeting they decided to continue under the conference name—Interchange—as a resource center on right-wing politics. They also plan to hold regional educational seminars like the Washington meeting.

"There is a real sense of this as the thing we need to do," Wisconsin state representative Midge Miller, the convener of the conference, said afterwards. "There is far more sensitivity to the need than there was even six months ago."

A liberal, feminist Democrat, Miller began looking into far right activities as she prepared for a debate with Phyllis Schlafly, one of the right's favorite women (along with Anita Bryant), who has spearheaded the fight against the ERA. She was shocked by its strength and felt that other liberals might also not know how right-wing groups have grown in recent years.

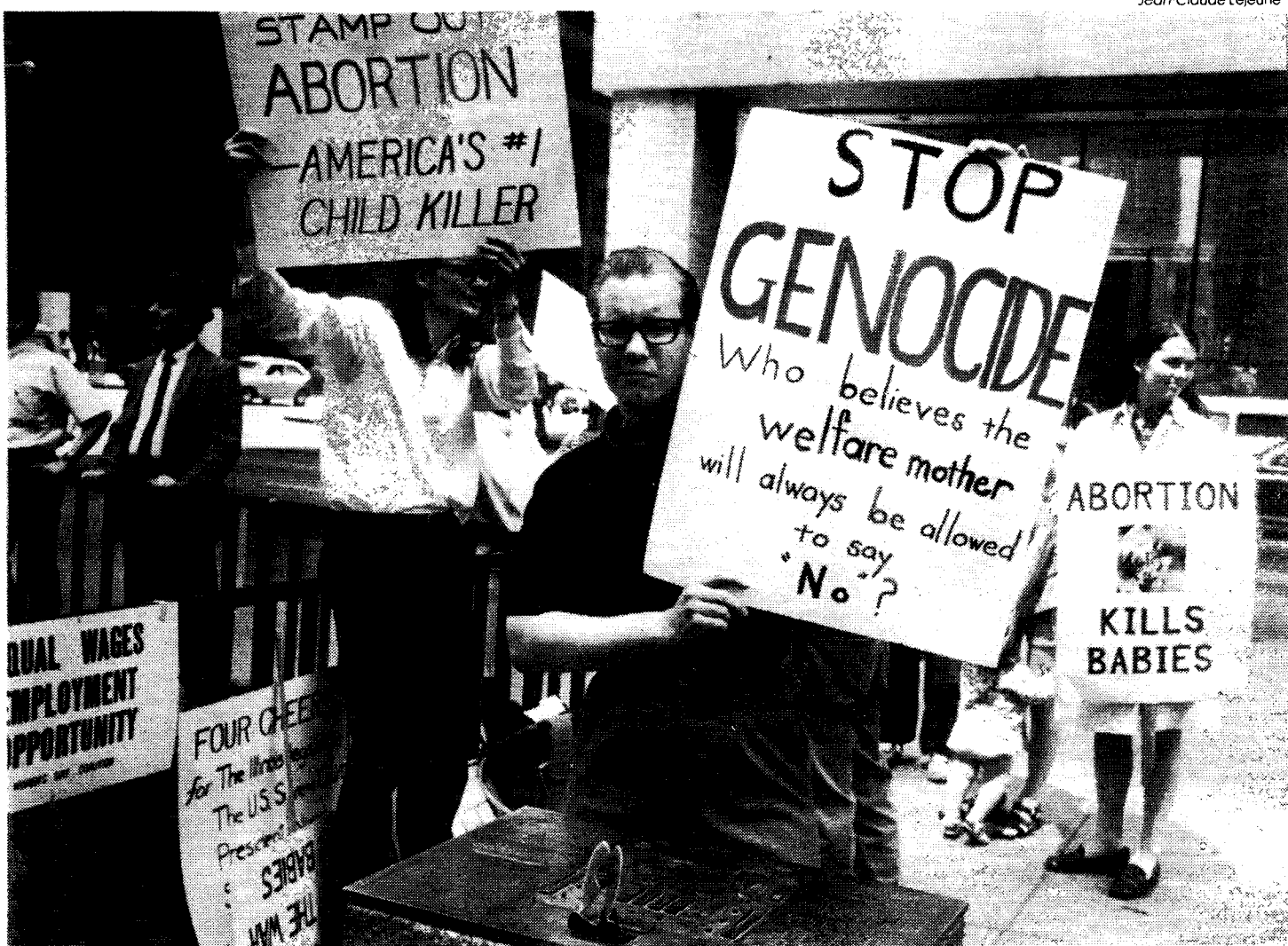
Not entirely new.

The new right, most researchers at the conference agreed, is not entirely new. Many of the people are carryovers from the still-active old right groups, such as the John Birch Society, and its basic political outlook is shared by established conservative business organizations like the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and the Business Roundtable.

But there is "a new technique, a new approach" represented by groups such as The Heritage Foundation, the Committee for Survival of a Free Congress, the Conservative Caucus, the National Conservative Political Action Committee and other groups associated with right-wing direct mail king Richard Viguerie, according to Wesley McCune, editor of *Group Research Report*, a newsletter on the activities of the political right.

The new right focuses on specific emotional issues—"hot buttons"—such as abortion, the Panama Canal, laetrile, gun control, gay rights. Groups then send out millions of fund-raising letters through largely centralized mailing lists, McCune says. Although only a small percentage of money raised—6 or 7 percent—may actually go to political campaigns of right-wing candidates, the flood of letters helps to build an ultraconservative political base. Even though many people on the lists may be partisans of only one far right issue, such as opposition to gun control or abortion, others will be recruited to more active support of the whole range of rightist causes.

The new right also provides technical



The hard core of the right, though small, has been able to mobilize large numbers by use of "hot button" issues like abortion.

Although there is growing agreement about the threat posed by the right, there is little about the political and organizational steps necessary to counter it effectively.

aid on conducting campaigns and promotes its congressional or other prominent superstars through the direct mail—letters have been signed by Ronald Reagan, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC), Sen. Jake Garn (R-UT) or Rep. Larry McDonald (D-GA).

Although the right has won a number of elections, especially in the West, and has largely taken over the Young Republicans, they carry their political action far beyond the ballot box. The women's movement has taken the brunt of their attack. Gloria Steinem worriedly reminded the Interchange conference of the similarity between Nazi and new right views on the place of women in society.

A political problem.

Although the conference speakers concentrated on the mechanical details of how the right-wing organizations build their mailing lists, raise money and spin off new groups, others thought the real problem was closer to home. "The discussion of the problem should start with what's wrong with our liberal organizations that we're not attracting the popular support," Jeremy Rifkin of the Peoples Business Commission said.

In a time of contracting economic growth, following a period when liberal and left groups took the initiative and made gains that threatened the dominant, 1950s-style U.S. world view, many anxious people are looking for a new value system. They are finding it, Rifkin says, in the "born again" evangelism that serves as a recruiting ground for the new right in much the same way as the counterculture of the '60s served the new left.

Although a survey conducted for AFSCME (the public employees union) suggested that there is only a tiny coherent right-wing minority, they have seized on their issues with zealous determination and have been able to win over large blocs—although usually far from majorities—to individual right-wing positions.

By contrast, the liberal groups represented at the conference seemed on the defensive, were losing their mass base of

activists and were uncertain about how they should go forward.

Russ Hemenway, director of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, for example, warned that within a few years Congress will reflect this new conservatism even more, with as many as 30 liberal seats being lost in this fall's elections. Partly this was because "we haven't been doing our job for the last three or four years," he said.

"When I say 'we,'" he added moments later, "I don't know what that means anymore."

Confusion over what to do.

Later, in workshops about how to fight the right, the current confusion was even more apparent. "The major issue now is the economy," Hemenway said. "But there isn't a new Democratic or Republican idea on how to save the economy, and nothing is coming from liberals. There's no liberal program because the liberals don't know what to do."

As a result, many of the organizational representatives are steadily backtracking from their principles—arguing that liberal issues should be downplayed, accepting election of "moderates" rather than pushing for more liberal candidates, trying to use right-wing emotional symbols for liberal ends. "We are pro-family," a white-haired woman from Virginia said. "We need to wave the flag and champion the family and use the same issues as the far right."

Others urged that "the left"—as most identified themselves—adopt some of the techniques of the right (which has already copied effective techniques of liberal and left groups from the late '60s and early '70s: compiling direct mail lists (coded by legislative districts for more effective pressure politics), encouraging letter writing ("I think there isn't a right-winger in this country who doesn't write 15 letters a day," International Women's Year attorney Linda Dorian said), taking precautions in planning meetings to minimize the possibility of right-wing takeovers, and using whatever legal measures are

available to combat right-wing deception and distortion. Many new right groups and business-backed organizations, for example, are very closely copying the names of public interest groups, confusing Congress, the press and the public with such titles (all right-wing) as Citizens Choice, American Cause, National Association for the Public Interest, National Center for Law in the Public Interest and the National Alliance of Senior Citizens. Public interest groups are considering law suits against such "stealing of our trademark."

Ron Asta, a Tucson, Ariz., county commissioner defeated by a right-wing campaign, urged the conferees to think first of all in terms of a class appeal to the broad spectrum of blue and white collar workers. Jeremy Rifkin recommended that "the system itself needs overhauling." But very few of the conference representatives seemed ready for a dramatic shift in political program.

When Sen. Thomas MacIntyre (D-NH) finished blasting New Hampshire Gov. Meldrin Thomson, a prominent right-wing hero, he was asked what response there should be to the new right. "You've got to back your leader," he responded. "You can't cut Carter down. You have to defend our record of the past years—the Democratic record."

Running on that record, however, offers little hope to those groups most threatened by right-wing assaults, especially since Carter and other leading Democrats have recently been capitulating to the right-wing pressure on many issues.

But the conferees were not, in many cases, so tied to the current Democratic leadership that they would not consider pushing from inside and outside the party for a more promising response to the right.

In any case, the new right may have provided a useful service by bringing together such a broad range of feminist, labor, peace, education, religious, public interest, gay and liberal citizen organizations. Even if they're not completely sure at the moment of who they are and where they're going, they at least have a better idea of who they're all against. ■

IN THE NATION

NEWSFRONT



Above: A mother and her son pose at "No Nuke City" at the Barnwell nuclear reprocessing plant. They were among some 280 arrested while non-violently protesting.



In preparation for protests at Rocky Flats, Colo., a "plutonium Path Caravan" (above) brought a mock load of plutonium casks from South Carolina.

Southerners march on Barnwell plant

By Bob McMahon

BARNWELL, S. C.

SOME 280 PEOPLE WERE ARRESTED May 1 in a non-violent protest directed at the Allied General Nuclear Services (AGNS) nuclear reprocessing plant here. The protestors, under the leadership of the Palmetto Alliance, arrived at the plant after a seven-mile march. Scrambling across a drainage ditch into a grove of trees beside the plant gates, they announced they would remain until the plant's owners met with them to discuss closing the plant or turning it to non-nuclear uses.

Representatives took turns explaining why they had acted. "We are here to protest the deaths already caused by the nuclear industry and to prevent future deaths," said Chuck Simms. "I am here," added Becky Hardee, "because my four-year-old's beautiful baby brother died of leukemia—which is only one of the cancers caused by radiation."

The Barnwell plant was built for commercial reprocessing—the separation of usable U-235 and plutonium from spent nuclear reactor fuel. Changes in federal policy have so far blocked its operation. But the government is considering taking over the plant as an interim waste storage site or as a multi-national fuel reprocessing center.

Police held off arrests for trespassing for several hours. During this time a heavy rain fell. Tents and plastic sheets passed to demonstrators from supporters across the road were stretched between trees, and the founding of "No Nuke City" was announced.

During the arrest process, a relaxed and cooperative atmosphere prevailed between police and demonstrators. By late that night, most of those arrested had been processed and released on \$15 bail. Twenty-four demonstrators refused bail and remained in jail. Half of these began a fast in jail.

The day before the occupation of the plant site, 1,200 people took part in a legal march along the route taken by the occupiers, followed by a rally. Speakers included radiation hazards expert Dr. John Gofman, Australian anti-nuclear

leader Dr. Helen Cadicott and four representatives of the Japanese anti-nuclear movement.

Local reaction to the protest was mixed. State Senator Tom Turnipseed, a hard-hitting populist candidate for governor, observed the civil disobedience and called it, "Fine, in the best tradition of America." He opposes nuclear power for economic and health reasons.

The Barnwell newspaper and many residents were hostile. But people in the black neighborhood around the jail where demonstrators were taken mingled festively with protest supporters, and a local leader of the American Agriculture Movement spoke at the rally.

Over the same weekend, coordinated demonstrations took place at the Rocky Flats (Colo.) nuclear weapons plant; in London, England, protesting the proposed Wind Scale reprocessing plant; at nuclear reactors in Taft, La., and Fort St. Vrain, Colo., and in Washington, D.C., and Pittsburgh, Pa.

Bob McMahon writes regularly from North Carolina for IN THESE TIMES.

Thousands protest at Rocky Flats

By Timothy Lange

ROCKY FLATS, COLO.

UNDER THE WATCHFUL EYE of concealed snipers and 600 other security officers, more than 5,000 protesters from 30 states and several foreign nations peacefully demonstrated April 29 at the government's nuclear weapons complex here, northwest of Denver.

As of May 3, about 35 demonstrators were still camped on a railroad spur leading into the plant, which is operated by Rockwell International.

Despite heavy security arrangements for the demonstration, which included helicopters, armored personnel vehicles and horseback riders, Rockwell stuck to its previous "good guy" public image. "These people have a right to express their views in our free country," a company spokesman said, adding that the plant is "here to keep it free."

The demonstration began with a rally of about 2,000 at Denver's downtown federal building. Stokley Carmichael, the black leader, and Democratic Rep. Pat Schroeder of Denver spoke. The demon-

strators then drove in a caravan to Rocky Flats, following a truck loaded with mock plutonium casks that had been driven from South Carolina along a route plutonium shipments regularly travel.

Even protest organizers were astounded by the turnout at the plant. Pacifists, socialists, environmentalists, students, professors, scientists, and religious activists joined the throng. Missing, however, were representatives of labor.

Two days before the demonstration, the Denver Area Labor Federation, the governing body for 85 Denver-based AFL-CIO affiliates, had voiced disapproval. In a resolution the federation declared support for the plant until all nations disarmed and noted that a shutdown of the plant would cost thousands of jobs.

The same day the president of the Flats' Steelworkers local, James Kelly, said at a press conference of the pro-nuclear Colorado Coalition for Science and Industry that closing the plant "would be a serious, if not fatal, blow to the defense capability of this nation as well as the free world." (Demonstrators have emphasized that they want the plant converted to peaceful, non-nuclear uses and jobs guaranteed to workers there.)

Speakers at the Flats demonstration included "Hibakusha," Japanese who were exposed to the radiation of the Nagasaki and Hiroshima atomic bombs. A Native American woman told cheering demonstrators that Native Americans want uranium now being dug on reservations to stay in the ground. Another speaker charged the government with a "conspiracy of silence" about the fate of men who, like her late husband, were exposed to radiation in the 1950s.

Alluding the Nazi holocaust, Daniel Ellsberg said the weapons made at Rocky Flats and elsewhere are modern "gas chambers," able to wipe out six million people in a flash. After his speech he joined about 160 protesters, schooled in non-violent resistance, for the occupation of the tracks. Most of these protesters left by Sunday evening.

The rest, soggy from the unusually wet weather, are living on or near the tracks in tents between rock and railroad tie barricades. Although Rockwell officials are keeping watch over this small band, they say they will make no move to have them arrested, partly because the occupation is taking place on Rio Grande Railway property.

But there have been two incidents that some demonstrators interpret as gentle harassment. On Tuesday, Rockwell officials asked the protesters to fill out a form explaining what they plan to do about damage they are allegedly doing to the land around the camp. The protesters re-

plied they would fill out a form when Rockwell filled out one saying what it would do about local land contaminated by plutonium. And Wednesday, May 3, Rio Grande officials showed up to say they would, in a few days, be replacing railroad ties where the demonstrators are camped.

Nonetheless, the demonstrators say they will remain.

Tim Lange is a reporter in Denver.

Tower tragedy highlights daily danger

By Dan Marshall

WHEN A SHOCKING INDUSTRIAL tragedy hit St. Mary's, W. Va., on April 27, the nation's media and public officials responded as they usually do to "colorful" disasters.

After 51 workers were killed when the scaffolding tore loose from a half-way-built power plant cooling tower and plunged 170 feet, Gov. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV offered his prayers and help to the victim's relatives. A federal government agency rushed in to investigate the cause of the accident. Television and newspaper reporters, meanwhile, poked through the area's social and psychological wreckage searching for "human interest" stories, raising the ire of small-town Appalachian residents who ordinarily are ignored or put down by the national media.

Only in such circumstances do the day-to-day hazards facing construction workers come under public scrutiny. The St. Mary's accident was unusual in the number of workers killed at one time and in the fact that whole families were practically wiped out. But little was said about the fact that construction workers confront such risks every minute of their working lives.

Contract construction, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is the country's most dangerous occupation. In 1975 over 450,000 building trades workers suffered disabling injuries or illnesses. Out of every 100 fulltime construction workers, 16 were injured or taken ill, almost twice the average for all other industries.

The St. Mary's incident was apparent—Continued on next page.

NEWSFRONT

Continued from previous page.

ly caused by speed-up, although the results of an Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) investigation will not be known until late May. As the cooling tower was constructed, the giant scaffolding was raised hydraulically and anchored to successive layers of concrete. Since it had rained the day before the accident, the concrete on the tower's 28th ring had not sufficiently hardened to support the heavy metal structure. Work progressed, however. The cement apparently disintegrated, bringing down the scaffold and 51 men.

Workers at the site angrily pointed to the "uncured" cement as the cause of the mishap. "I picked up some of the stuff that fell. You could just crumble it in your hands," one worker told the *New York Times*.

"That concrete seemed 'green' to me," a foreman at the site commented to the *Chicago Sun-Times*. "You could feel the heat. Green concrete feels warm."

This is not the first time the Pleasant's Power Station has been the scene of injuries. Since construction started in 1973, there have been four fatalities, noted one OSHA inspector. OSHA has inspected the site 13 times in the last five years and found "numerous violations, both serious and nonserious."

American indicted in Letelier killing

By John T. Alves

WASHINGTON

THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOW charged expatriate Michael V. Townley with participating in the murder of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Karpen Moffitt (ITT, April 19, April 26). Townley, charged with "conspiring with other persons to murder a former ambassador," faces a maximum sentence of life imprisonment.

The charge, the first to be handed down in the 19 months since Letelier and Moffitt were killed by an explosive device Sept. 21, 1976, specifies that Townley was acting on behalf of the Chilean secret police, DINA.

The *Washington Post* reported April 28 that Townley had agreed to provide investigators with "detailed information" about the Chilean government's role in the Letelier assassination. He was also reported willing to disclose information that could shed light on other unsolved terrorist incidents. The *Post* noted that as many as ten persons may also be charged in connection with the murders, including Chilean government officials. Gen. Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, former head of DINA and one of Chilean strongman Augusto Pinochet's closest associates, may be one of those charged.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Eugene Proper requested that bond for Townley be set at \$5 million, reasoning that DINA might find it worthwhile to pay lesser sums to get Townley out of jail and in a position to escape from the country. He pointed out that Townley had used at least five aliases and three passports to enter and leave the U.S. in the last four years.

Townley's attorney, Seymour Glanzer, one of the original Watergate prosecutors, now connected to Charles Colson's former law firm, protested the high bail, arguing that it was tantamount to a denial of bail. The judge then ordered Townley held without bail.

Glanzer is reportedly skilled in the art of plea bargaining and observers of the case believe that bargaining is now under-

way. Glanzer has refused to comment on the case and called for closed hearings at every opportunity. Suspicions that plea bargaining is underway were strengthened when Townley waived his right to a pre-trial hearing.

Two others almost certain to be indicted in the case are Guillermo Novo Sampol and Alvin Ross Diaz, members of a Union City, N.J., cell of the Cuban Nationalist Movement. Arrested in Miami in mid-April on unrelated charges, the two were extradited to New York April 28. Both men are suspected of being directly involved in the killing, under contract with Townley. The FBI May 5 discovered an electronic detonating device ("beeper") in the glove compartment of Diaz's car, a device similar to that used in the Letelier-Moffitt murders.

The expected implication of Gen. Contreras may have explosive consequences for the Pinochet regime in Chile.

Pinochet is also threatened by the slow disintegration of the "liberalizing" image that he has tried to present in recent months. Particularly damaging was the discourse that his "sweeping" decree of Amnesty April 19 did not apply to those active in strike activity or in disseminating "tendentious" news. The limits of his reforms were also apparent May 1 when police broke up peaceful demonstrations in Santiago.

John T. Alves is an associate of the Transnational Institute in Washington.

Consortium successfully mines seabed

By Chuck Fager

WASHINGTON

A CONVERTED OIL DRILLING ship working southwest of Hawaii has achieved a breakthrough in new technology to mine the rich mineral deposits at the bottom of the sea, it was announced on April 17. Ocean Management Inc., of Bellevue, Wash., said in a statement that one of its vessels had used a hydraulic pump mechanism to suck up cargo of over 1,000 tons of potato-sized manganese nodules, the chief form of ore on the ocean floor. This was the first time such a method of extraction had been used successfully.

Ocean Management is a consortium of mineral companies from the U.S., Canada, West Germany and Japan, of which the Canada-based International Nickel Co. (INCO) is the major partner. An INCO spokesman in New York played down the immediate impact of the new technology. "We're going to analyze the ore and then store it," INCO's Dave Graham said. "The project is then going on the back burner."

In making its mining technology work, Ocean Management beat out three other consortia that are also working on under-sea mining systems. And the reality of seabed mining, which some specialists had predicted could never be done effectively, is another element of uncertainty in the volatile atmosphere of the international Law of the Sea Conference now underway in Geneva, Switzerland. (ITT, Dec. 14, 1977.)

After seven annual sessions, the conference is currently in its showdown meeting, trying to produce an international treaty that would, among other things, determine the future of deep sea-bed mining, an industry that could eventually be worth billions.

Third World delegates at the 150-nation conference have demanded that such mining be controlled by an international

body and that much of the mining be conducted by a quasi-socialist company, the profits of which would be redistributed largely to poorer nations. The U.S. delegation, headed by Elliot Richardson, has argued, on the other hand, for a major role for private mining companies and for fewer international restraints.

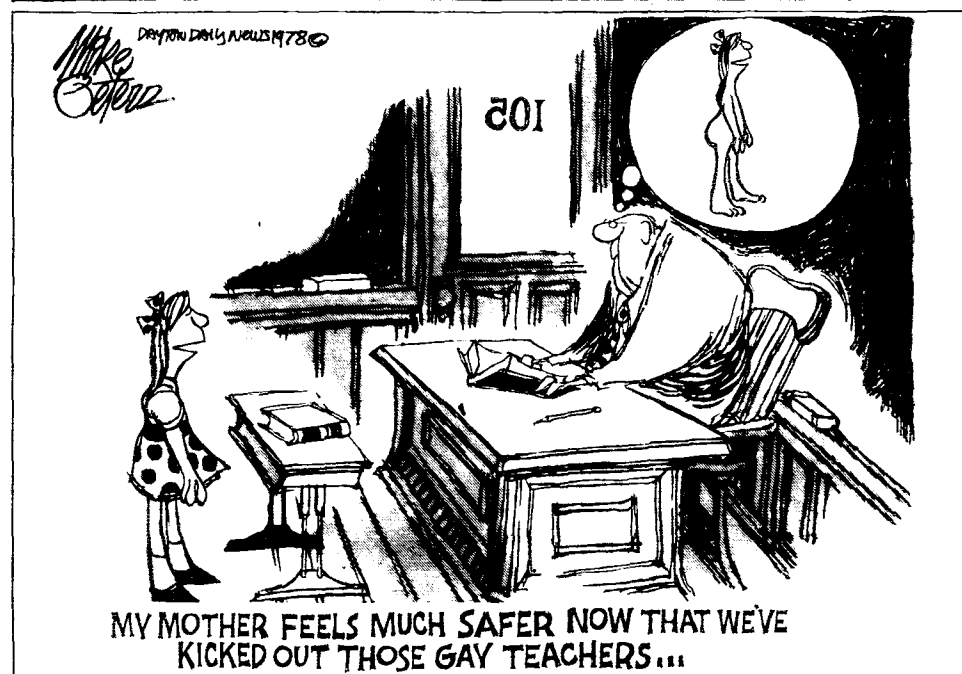
The stalemate that has developed over these and related issues has put the conference's future in doubt. Last month Richardson returned to Washington to testify before a congressional committee and he told reporters that he gave the conference "only a one-in-three chance" of resolving its conflicts and making real progress toward a new law of the sea treaty. Without such progress, Richardson said he could not see how the conference could go on.

Other knowledgeable observers, while

cautious, are not as pessimistic as Richardson about the conference's prospects. Sam Levering, a Quaker worker who has been active behind the scenes at several of the conference sessions, said in Washington that he believed Richardson's gloomy forecast "was mostly a tactical thing. If he comes home and says, 'things are going great,' and then it doesn't succeed, then he won't look very good, whereas if he says it isn't succeeding and then it does, he can say 'look what we accomplished.'"

Levering is hopeful that the conference can make major progress on the seabed mining and other issues that have been slowing it up, enough progress so that the delegates will agree to an eighth session next year to finish their work.

Chuck Fager is a free-lance writer in Washington.



Gay rights voted down in St. Paul

By Dave Wood

ST. PAUL, MINN.

RESIDENTS HERE VOTED ALMOST two-to-one April 25 to remove the words "affectional or sexual preference" from their city's human rights ordinance. Supporters of gay rights responded with anger, sadness and defiance.

The ordinance, which had been in effect for almost four years, prohibited discrimination in employment, housing, education, public accommodations and public services.

Many were surprised at the defeat in view of the broad support that gay and lesbian human rights had received from religious, political, minority and union leaders. Among those who publicly supported rights for gay people were the heads of the city's six largest religious denominations (including Roman Catholic Archbishop John R. Roach), most of St. Paul's city council members, the present mayor and three former mayors, the Urban League, St. Paul Federation of Teachers, Guild of Taxi Drivers, Teamsters, and all AFSCME councils.

But St. Paul voters were unimpressed by this staggering array of leadership support for gay rights. "This is an issue that people aren't ready for regardless of who speaks on behalf of it," said Kerry Woodward, campaign manager for St. Paul Citizens for Human Rights. "It could be because people are afraid right now. Schools are in trouble and there are many other problems. So people strike out at anything."

On the night of the election, over 1,000

supporters of lesbian and gay rights gathered at the St. Paul Hotel to await election results. As unfavorable results were posted, the mood was somber and even tearful—but defiant.

"We will not sit down. We will not be silent. And we will not go away," St. Paul Citizens spokesperson Craig Anderson said. "It's our city, too, and we are not leaving."

To underscore their determination not to go away, the following Sunday about 250 supporters of gay rights gathered at Temple Baptist Church, the church of Rev. Richard Angwin, who spearheaded the drive to defeat gay rights in St. Paul. While about 40 actually attended the first half of his "Victory Sunday" service, the rest demonstrated outside.

The St. Paul lesbian and gay community is stronger and more united now than ever before, according to Woodward. "A number of straight people who have been supporting us said they want to continue," she said.

St. Paul Citizens for Human Rights has initiated a court case challenging the constitutional right of a majority to vote on whether or not civil rights should be denied to a minority. The suit also contends that it was improper for the St. Paul City Clerk to correct what they consider to be substantive errors in the petition that demanded the vote.

Other cities' gay rights ordinances also face challenge. Wichita, Kan., and Eugene, Ore., voters will decide the fate of their cities' ordinances on May 9 and May 23 respectively. Within days of the St. Paul vote, a minister in Madison, Wisc., announced that he plans to challenge that city's ordinance and reportedly threatened to expose some local political leaders' homosexuality.

Supporters of human rights for all in St. Paul may soon find themselves fighting again. Soon after the St. Paul vote when Rev. Angwin was asked, "What next?" he responded, "Abortion and the ERA."

Dave Wood is a free-lance writer in Minneapolis.

It's Time for a Public Health Service

By Joyce Goldstein

As labor leaders and other supporters of national health insurance seek a compromise with President Carter to get a bill in Congress before the end of the year, Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-CA) has introduced a new version of his Health Service Act, first introduced last year, with which he hopes to change the character of the debate over health care.

As opposed to health insurance, which would use tax dollars to pay for private health care, Dellums' proposal, introduced April 5, would use public funds to hire medical personnel and would radically change the nature of our health care system.

"The only way to address the basic problem of the inaccessibility of health services to large segments of the American people is to create a democratically controlled national health service," Dellums said in introducing his bill. "A national health insurance program that merely uses tax dollars to pay for the private, profit-making system, without restructuring it, will only lead to further entrenchment of the power of the health care industry and the exacerbation of the high cost of health care."

Financed by a combination of general revenues, a progressive "Health Service" income tax, and an employer tax, the proposed U.S. Health Service would provide comprehensive medical, dental, preventive, environmental, occupational and mental health services to everyone in the U.S. Dellums' health system would have a four-tiered structure:

- Communities would have primary care service—general outpatient care, emergency services, mental health care, programs on occupational health and safety and environmental monitoring. These services would be provided through community health centers and other local facilities controlled by local elected boards composed of two-thirds users and one-third health workers.

- Larger districts would have a general hospital for inpatient services. District hospitals would be governed by boards with members chosen by the local boards, maintaining the two-to-one ratio of users to workers.

- Districts would be joined together in regions to set up specialized medical centers and a health worker education system.

- There would be overall national budgeting and financing and supervision of specialized research.

Challenge to private system.

Under the plan primary health care for most people would be taken out of the preserve of self-employed, self-regulated—and largely unaccountable—"professionals" and placed in the hands of salaried practitioners whose primary concern would be preventive medicine.

The proposal also challenges the hierarchy of the present health care professions through changes in the training of medical personnel. Health Team Schools, operated on the regional level, would be created to train health workers. The schools would be tuition free and the student body would have to "approximate" the demographic composition of the region.

In addition the performance of health care personnel would be continuously reviewed, with both users and practitioners participating in evaluations.

The bill also contains a patients' "bill of rights" that guarantees: access to all health services, choice of health care providers and clear information and explanations, in the patient's first language, about proposed treatments.



Rep. Ron Dellums

If it speaks to people's needs it's not utopian

In the following interview with Ilen Rodberg of the Public Resource Center in Washington, D.C., Ron Dellums of California talks about his reasons for introducing the Health Service Act in Congress. That act, introduced April 5, is now before several congressional committees. A vote is not expected until autumn.

Why are you introducing the Health Service Act at this time?

First of all, based on what I see as the health needs of the American people, and an evaluation of the current delivery system, I think this is the best way to provide health services for the American people, to enhance the quality of care and make sure there is accountability. Only in this way can we deal with the problem of excessive cost and marshal our resources so there is a more adequate distribution of personnel.

So you don't want to spend more, but to spend it better?

Yes, we want to see that the people who don't get service today can get good health care. I think a national health service provides the only possible way to do this, that is, we have to totally reorganize our delivery system of health care in this country.

Don't you think that trying to do that is utopian?

I realize that by introducing this bill we are running counter to many of the special interests involved in the delivery of health care, which is a very, very large business in this country. Everywhere I go, AMA people have argued that this approach is utopian, that it is just not practical, that it can't work, that it runs against the grain of how our economy is organized.

My response is simply that there is a desperate need to take a new look at the nature of our economy. There are movements beginning across the country for economic democracy and I think that the right of the people to health is a critical issue that ought to be part of that debate.

I don't think this approach is utopian. Maybe it is in advance of its time but that is only because millions of American people are not aware of this alternative. I have introduced the bill, not because I think the country is prepared to enact it today or tomorrow or even next year, but because it opens up a critically important debate in this country. It begins to force everyone to discuss all the various alternatives. Within the framework of an open debate, I think people will move toward this alternative.

This approach requires a radical rethinking of how we deliver services in this country and what the role of government is and should be in the lives of people. But, from an economic standpoint it makes sense, and from a political standpoint it makes sense.

Certainly it makes sense at a time in our history when competition for resources is increasing. We are simply building a situation today where more and more people will come together in conflict. I think the way you remove that conflict is to rise above a parochial approach to a problem and to speak to the needs of all the people, across race, across sex, across class, across every line that tends to divide us. That is what this bill does. It is a universal, comprehensive approach and I think it is the way to meet the increased competition over resources.

You referred to the special interests, many of whom are health workers, and the resistance you have met from the AMA. Do you think that health workers, from physicians to nurses aides, should support this bill?

Sure, I do. In a delivery system that doesn't require that health workers put in 60, 80, 100 hours a week, which I feel is absurd—there is a point beyond which competence begins to drain—when we reorganize the delivery system of health care in a way that makes sense, you minimize the stress on workers. They can work in an atmosphere that is more congenial and cooperative. They don't have to get involved in defensive medicine, do lab tests that they know are not necessary, or to engage in operations that may not necessarily be useful, but are done to protect themselves. They don't have to get involved in massive debt in setting up private offices, they don't have to be businesspersons, keep books, or worry about paying the bills. They can do what they are trained to do, that is, to provide health services to people.

Second, this bill provides for the participation of all health workers in managing the facilities where they work. For the first time they can, under the mandate of law, be involved in the development of programs and approaches to the delivery of health care where they work. Any time people have the opportunity to participate in issues that impact upon their lives, that is a very healthy process.

So you think this should be encouraged throughout the society?

Yes, providing an opportunity for workers to participate in establishing policies and creating the atmosphere in which they work is, to me, fundamental to the concept of a democratic society. One of the tragic realities of our institutional development thus far is that, even though we talk about being a democracy, we have excluded the participation of the people who use our services and the people who provide them. This really runs counter to the concept of democracy. Somewhere along the way it got distorted. What we are trying to do is put it back on track.

Skyrocketing health costs.

Skyrocketing health care costs have become a major burden to consumers, employers who purchase health insurance and government. Despite the current system of public and private health insurance, health care costs are now the primary cause of personal bankruptcy in the U.S.

Experience with government insurance programs, like Medicaid and Medicare, demonstrates that subsidizing the private sector to deliver health services increases the cost of health care by granting an unregulated license to provide more and more care, regardless of need, at an ever-increasing cost. A national health insurance system would continue the escalation of medical costs.

Efforts to control rising health costs, supporters believe, are doomed so long as the health system has to rely on "fee-for-service" (paying separately for each service) medical care, with its built-in encouragement for expensive and unnecessary procedures.

The Dellums health service proposal builds on the experience of prepaid health care systems that utilize salaried doctors and medical workers, and have controlled costs by reducing hospitalization time and by placing a greater emphasis on primary and preventive health care.

Supporters of a national health service estimate that such a system would cost 10 to 30 percent less than current health care because it would eliminate the costs of insurance and billing, unnecessary treatments and hospitalization encouraged by fee-for-service and excessive profits and astronomical salaries for the professional elites.

Public health history.

Between 1912 and 1920 the first major campaign for national health insurance was waged by the American Association for Labor Legislation, after the campaign to establish workman's compensation had achieved success. This effort was thwarted during World War I when the American Medical Association and the business community retracted their earlier support.

The next articulate voice for a national health program came from the private—but government-supported—Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. Its short life—1927-1932—produced a report calling for group practice and prepayment. But a minority report emphasizing solo, fee-for-service practice and endorsed by the AMA effectively killed the whole idea until President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Committee on Economic Security made similar recommendations in 1934.

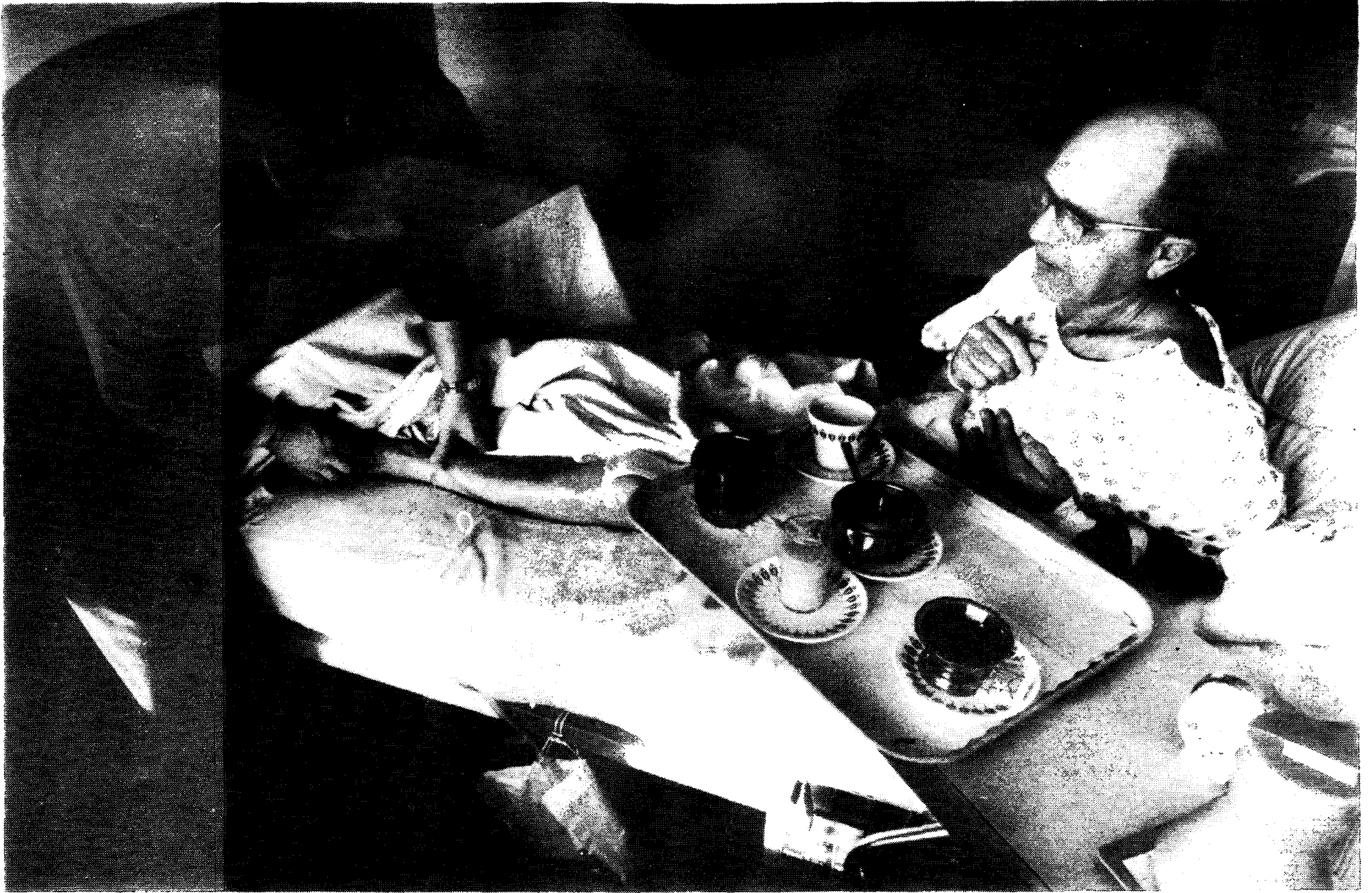
But again the AMA made sure that the Social Security Act of 1934 did not include any attempts to control the medical profession.

Roosevelt's health message in 1939 spurred the introduction of the National Health Act, which also went nowhere despite Harry Truman's declaration that national health insurance was a top priority.

In the early 1960s President Kennedy decided that the only way to pass any form of national health insurance was to restrict it to sectors of the society whose need could not be denied. Medicare and Medicaid, introduced by Kennedy at a Madison Square Garden rally and passed under Lyndon Johnson, provided a measure of public financing for medical care for the elderly and the impoverished.

Not only did the limited scope of the coverage represent a compromise with the health care industry, but in the legislative process all cost and quality controls were eliminated.

Ironically, these two programs—op-



Richard Stromberg

posed by the AMA, the hospitals, and the insurance and pharmaceutical companies—turned out to be a bonanza for the health care industry. Millions of dollars in federal funds were poured into a super-profitable nursing home industry, into thousands of "Medicaid Mills" serving poor communities, into increased demand for drugs and other supplies, and into fortunes for enterprising doctors, druggists, medical supply companies and real estate operators.

Unfortunately, the spiralling costs of Medicaid and Medicare—which have been portrayed in the media as yet another "welfare fraud," rather than a rip-off of the needy by the greedy—has created public hostility to further government action. The emphasis is now more on cutting costs than in increasing public access to medical care.

Kennedy-Corman plan.

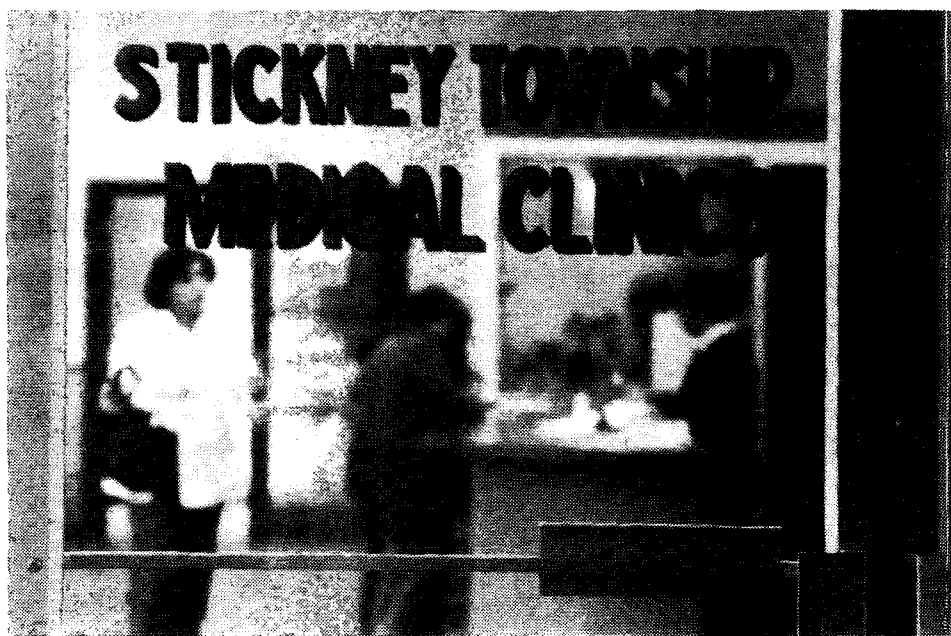
At the same time, a coalition of trade unionists, liberal Democrats, consumer advocates and senior citizens, built up over the last 40 years, continues to lobby for national health insurance. This coalition backs the Health Security Act, introduced by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Rep. James Corman (D-CA), which would create a federally funded, comprehensive health insurance plan for all Americans.

The Kennedy-Corman insurance plan, financed from general revenues and social security taxes, would have a national health care budget, based on expected revenues. The federal government would negotiate reimbursement rates with hospitals, doctors and other health care providers, and there would be incentives for Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) employing salaried personnel.

Fear of attack from the health care industry, and desire to get some kind of health insurance through Congress, had led Kennedy, the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers to compromise with President Carter on the principles for national health insurance.

Carter has promised a national health insurance bill during this congressional session. He has already won compromises that would increase the role of private insurance companies and that would finance the system through employer-employee premiums instead of from general revenue.

Nonetheless, opposition to federal health insurance remains strong. Critics have asked why Dellums bothered to introduce a bill detailing an optimal system of health care when far less radical nation-



Ken Firestone

Socialized medicine comes to one Illinois community

By Jolene Babyak

"Socialized medicine" has come to this sprawling Chicago suburb. If you lived here and were suddenly sick, all you would have to do for treatment is to go to one of three clinics with proof of residency—a water bill will do—and you'd be entitled to free health care.

Have a baby here and a public health nurse will come to your home with diet and health care instructions. Move into town with a senior citizen and he or she will be whisked off to a clinic where podiatry exams, hypertension, diabetes and hearing and eye tests are given regularly, all free.

Sound unbelievable? Not for the 44,500 people in Stickney Township, who have been getting "free" primary health care for over 30 years.

While many communities provide public health clinics for the indigent or for VD treatment or immunizations, few public clinics provide physicians for a broad range of medical needs—and even fewer are wholly subsidized by local taxes.

Stickney prides itself on its cradle-to-

grave health care. Everything from prenatal, pediatrics, immunizations to mental health needs (at reduced rates) and care for the special needs of senior citizens is provided. Stickney also provides extensive social services such as students to aid families if a parent becomes incapacitated.

One of its most applauded services is dentistry. Stickney has five public health dentists, including two who circulate year-round among the area's 12 elementary schools in a mobile unit. The unit is attached to a school's utility lines for a month while dentists check students and, if needed, fill, clean or extract teeth with parental permission. All free, up to the eighth grade.

Limited X-ray and lab services are also available at about half the going rate (chest X-rays in Chicago cost about \$15, whereas Stickney charges \$7). Medication also costs about half.

"It's all coming together now," says Kenneth C. Rehnquist, health director of Stickney Township, who said that planning and communication were the toehold

to efficient service. "You start small, prove the need for what you've got, show you're successful, then take it step by step. We didn't start out with all the programs we have now," he says.

The Stickney health plan has its origins in the Depression, when former township supervisor Herbert Maid sought to help local truck farmers get off relief rolls. He convinced businesses in nearby Clearing Industrial Park to support a clinic to make them employable.

Today the clinics and township business (most of which is involved with health care) cost about \$1.1 million, of which local industries pay about 68 percent in property taxes. Private individuals provide the bulk of the remainder, paying about \$22 per household each year.

Nor is the program subsidized by local doctors. Salaries of the three township physicians (one in each clinic), the nurses, psychiatrists, psychologists and dentists are commensurate with area agencies, and Stickney has at least 12 private physicians and dentists operating side-by-side with the health service.

"We're not trying to replace the private practitioner," said Rehnquist. "We try to intervene with a program of preventive medicine, and most private practitioners are geared to the healing aspects of disease once it occurs."

And, adds a housewife who, like many residents, uses both the township clinics and private doctors: "Let's face it, what doctor isn't busy?"

While national health expenditures in 1976 amounted to \$139 billion, or \$638 per person, millions couldn't even afford minimal care. What makes Stickney able to accomplish primary health care so cheaply?

Stickney receives only minimal government funding in the form of revenue sharing and state grants, and provides no hospitalization, so paperwork is kept to a minimum. And since it is working on a fixed budget, there is a high incentive for efficiency. "My most important job," says Rehnquist, "is coordinating services so that we don't duplicate. This is the key to cheaper delivery."

Last year the three clinics had over 30,000 patient visits, and the dentists seated nearly 5,000 patients. If this is "socialized medicine" (and the term has little meaning to most people in Stickney) then it is alive and well.

(© 1978 Pacific News Service)

Jolene Babyak is a free-lance writer.

LABOR

1199: For dignity and justice

PART ONE

The unique aspect of the hospital workers union is the way that it unites labor concerns and human rights issues.

By Dan Marshall

NEW YORK

ABOVE THE ENTRANCE TO THE "Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Labor Center," the headquarters of District 1199, the National Hospital Union, is a mosaic mural that stands in bold contrast to the dingy restaurants, broken bottles and porno bookstores on West 43rd Street in midtown Manhattan.

In the left part of that mural a group of black, white and Hispanic hospital workers help a patient while union organizers hand out leaflets in the background. To the right the same group engages in educational and cultural activities—teaching a child to read, surveying the globe, singing and picnicking—under a bright sun and a dove of peace.

Two giant hands unite the scenes: one holds a partially crumbled leaf with Frederick Douglas' words—"If there is no struggle, there can be no progress."

The mural, by Anton Refregier, describes District 1199's central purpose—to provide hospital workers with the human dignity and decent wages that will allow them to pursue the "good things in life" denied them so long.

"The hospital workers' struggle is more than a fight for union rights," Martin Luther King commented in 1959, "It is part and parcel of the larger fight in our community against discrimination and exploitation...against all forms of degradation that result from poverty and human misery."

This year marks the 20th anniversary of 1199's first major hospital organizing victory at Montefiore Hospital in New York City. Since 1958 the union has organized some 90,000 members in 13 states, making it the nation's largest hospital union. Its story presents an inspiring chronicle of how a union, initially small in numbers but rich in militancy and a commitment to civil rights, can overcome enormous economic and political power to improve the working and living conditions of some of this country's poorest workers.

Now spreading from coast to coast, District 1199 remains unique in its active alliance with the civil rights movement and its integration of culture into the union's internal life.

Founded in 1932 as the Pharmacists Union of Greater New York, 1199 eventually encompassed 6,000 pharmacists, porters, clerks and other drugstore workers. Its opposition to discrimination was evident at the outset. In 1936, after joining the AFL and acquiring the name Local 1199, the union conducted a seven-week winter strike for the right of black pharmacists to work in Harlem drug stores. With Harlem residents' and community leaders' backing, the union won.

In 1954, after the union had organized the city's major drug store chains, it gave financial aid to the Montgomery Bus Boycott. King called Local 1199 "my favorite union." A life-long friendship ensued.

Coalition with civil rights.

The union's campaign to organize hospital workers was linked to its coalition with the civil rights movement. A crusading spirit was essential for organizing voluntary hospitals—those subsidized by philanthropic agencies and other "charitable" institutions. The vast majority of these workers were blacks and Hispanics earning as little as \$20 for a 44-hour week; or-



Above: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. addressing 1199 members at the union's 1968 annual "Salute to Freedom" dinner honoring contributions to the civil rights cause. This appearance was one of his last before his assassination.

ganization could hardly swell union treasuries.

Representational elections were not required, since the Taft-Hartley Act excluded nonprofit institutions from the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board. But hospital workers had little legal protection. They could be fired for joining unions and management could easily obtain injunctions.

Drawing from the dynamic CIO tradition of organizing the unorganized, Local 1199 realized the potential of the voluntary hospitals' 1.5 million employees, few of whom were union members. Its campaign was spearheaded by Elliott Godoff, who had spent 25 years organizing hospitals for other unions and was a long-time associate of 1199 president Leon Davis.

In 1958 the union went after Montefiore Hospital, forming "crack of dawn brigades," with drugstore workers who distributed leaflets before leaving for their regular jobs. After an eight-month effort the hospital agreed to a representational election and the union triumphed with a dramatic 628-31 vote.

Torrent of pro-union sentiment.

The Montefiore breakthrough unleashed a torrent of pro-union sentiment. Within three months 6,000 hospital workers joined the union. When other hospitals refused elections 3,500 workers at seven institutions walked off their jobs in May 1959. A coalition of 235 black and Puerto Rican community leaders supported their strike.

"Harry Van Arsdale, president of the Central Labor Council, was instrumental in rallying labor support to an unprecedented degree," Moe Foner, the union's executive secretary, told *IN THESE TIMES*. "This was because of his strong commitment to organizing poor workers and his ability to see that the organization of hospital workers could be an important factor in uniting both sectors of the labor movement."

The strike, though impressive, did not achieve a union contract. Wages were increased \$5 per week and the 40-hour week was instituted. A 1962 strike during which president Davis was jailed for 30 days for contempt of court, was settled when the governor pledged to secure passage of state collective bargaining legislation. When enacted the law made hospital strikes illegal and provided for compulsory arbitration of disputes.

The 1962 strike also convinced the un-

ion of the necessity to organize all levels of hospital workers—from the unskilled service employees through the professional, technical and clerical staffs—because doctors, nurses and other personnel had been used to keep the hospitals functioning. Local 1199 was well-suited to this task, because of its industrial-union tradition and its experience in meeting the needs of white collar workers.

Unlike other unions in the field 1199 attempts to integrate unskilled and professional employees into a single union, thereby breaking the barriers that often undercut strikes. While not always successful 1199 has gradually won professionals away from associations with little collective bargaining expertise.

"The union structure is unique," says Foner. "The union initially had ties with pharmacists as well as porters in drug stores. It organized blacks and whites into an industrial union. It was concerned with the special needs of professionals, but had the skills and background to run a democratic union over a long period. Now we negotiate in hospitals together but take into account the special needs of the different divisions."

The union now has four divisions: hospital (service employees), drug (pharmacists), guild (clerical, technical) and RN (registered nurses). Each elects delegates who meet monthly to make decisions. A training and upgrading program is conducted to give union members promotion opportunities. For the professional divisions, the union conducts regular conferences on industry trends and developments around health and safety, infectious disease, pharmacology and related health care topics.

District 1199's relationship to other unions is also unusual. In 1969, as it began spreading to other cities, it became the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, District 1199, a division of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU). A national union within an international, District 1199 is functionally autonomous. It obtains its affiliation with the AFL-CIO through the RWDSU.

Charleston strike.

The union's alliance with the civil rights movement culminated in 1969 when 500 workers at two hospitals in Charleston, S.C., walked off their jobs and sought assistance from 1199. "So we jumped in with both feet, arms and everything else," recalls Foner. "We were able to make

Charleston a national issue, mainly by convincing the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to send their staff in full time. The people heading that staff were Andy Young and Stoney Cooks."

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy and SCLC members led mass marches and support demonstrations through the center of town. The state sent in the National Guard with tanks and bayonets. Over 100 people were arrested, including 1199 president Davis and Rev. Abernathy. After 113 days the union achieved a settlement that granted *de facto* union recognition, pay raises, a credit union with a method for deducting union dues, and a grievance procedure.

In addition the strike produced one of 1199's best films: "I Am Somebody." The union has made five films that serve as historical documents as well as vehicles for educating union members and communicating 199 activities to a wider audience.

Because minorities constitute about 70 percent of the union's membership it promotes cultural activities that dramatize their common interests and that encourage a sense of self-identity and ethnic pride. The union sponsors an annual Salute to Freedom, an evening of entertainment saluting civil rights achievements, along with a Latin American Fiesta Night and a Salute to Israel.

"The biggest step in terms of cultural activities," according to Foner, is "Gallery 1199," the first permanent art gallery in an American union headquarters. As many as 3,000 people have come to see exhibitions, usually consisting of social realist art relating to the lives of 1199 members. One recent exhibit was "In Our Blood: Coal Miners in the Seventies," a selection of Earl Dotter's photography.

District 1199 has continued to earn distinction in the ranks of labor during the last decade. One of the first unions actively to oppose the Vietnam war, it helped mobilize opposition to it within the labor movement. In 1973 it fought Nixon's wage controls by conducting the largest hospital strike in the nation's history, involving 35,000 workers.

The nationwide growth of District 1199 was fostered in 1974 when Congress removed the exemption of voluntary hospitals from the National Labor Relations Act. Like other unions, however, it has suffered from the recession, high unemployment, the fiscal crisis of major urban centers, and a renewed management offensive.

IN THE WORLD

SPAIN

Legalized unions launch strike wave

In spite of steady rain, an estimated 300,000 people in Madrid took part in last week's May Day parade jointly organized by the Communist and Socialist labor unions. According to reports, about a million people throughout Spain demonstrated in this first freely celebrated May Day since Francisco Franco's seizure of power four decades ago. Repeated shouts of "Unity! Unity!" expressed the dominant sentiment for working class and left unity among the Madrid rally participants.

By Barbara Mann Franck

CORRESPONDING TO INNUMERABLE collective contracts up for renewal and following up on the Communist victory in shop representatives elections, Spain is being swept by the broadest and most militant wave of strikes since King Juan Carlos came to power in 1975. By the first week of March, an estimated one million work days had been lost to strikes in 1978. Some of the largest actions have been staged since then. Over half a million workers were on strike around the country on various days in mid-April.

The strikes have been characterized by high levels of worker participation in many sectors and regions and by effective picket committees in extending strikes, building mass support for them and keeping out strike breakers.

A mid-April strike in support of contract demands drew 80 percent of the nation's 450,000 textile workers; in Catalonia, where the industry is concentrated, participation was estimated at 95 percent. Regional metallurgy strikes affected 180,000 in Madrid (three one-day strike demonstrations in March), 80 percent of Barcelona metal workers (April 4) and 80,000 workers in Guipuzcoa (April 4-6).

Picket committees formed during a week-long dairy farmers strike in mid-March in Vizcaya—which spread to Malaga, Sevilla, Cordoba and Granada—prevented processing companies from distributing milk; the final weekend of the strike the city of Bilbao was without milk. Actions by large picket groups stopped deliveries by trucks from outlying provinces, despite right-wing harassment and the arrest of over a hundred picketers, during a five-day Barcelona strike that affected 95 percent of the transport sector in the province. And striking Catalan farmers distributed leaflets in provincial capitals, informed shoppers and distributors at central markets about their strike platform and eventually blocked the sale of fresh fruits and vegetables as part of a week-long strike beginning March 8 that saw 20,000 tractors parked along major roadways.

Not waiting for Parliament.

Negotiations on all collective contracts that have expired since last December had been held in abeyance until minimal labor reform legislation and factory election could be completed. The Communist party-dominated *Comisiones Obreras* (Workers Commissions, the CC.OO.) won 35 percent of representative posts in the recent elections, with the Socialist party's *Union General de Trabajadores* (the UGT) running a close second. Unions affiliated with Suarez' political party took a measly 3 percent.

When the European Confederation of Syndicates issued its call for a Western European day of struggle on April 5, four million Spanish workers—800,000 in Ma-

drid and 500,000 in Catalonia—responded. Work stoppages, assemblies and demonstrations drew 95 percent of workers in some Spanish provinces.

Like activities on April 5, many of the recent strikes have been orderly, limited actions, in line with the strategies of the Socialist and Communist parties. As in the nationwide textile and regional metal strikes, they have served as a show of strength and a warning to recalcitrant industry negotiators. Similarly, unemployed and striking Andalusian farmworkers staged one-day symbolic occupations of four large plantations as part of a region-wide "Week against Unemployment" in early March.

Andalusian provinces like Cadiz and Malaga have a 20 percent unemployment rate, and the misery of the southern villages is awakening response in the region's industrialized capitals. Seventy percent of Seville's construction workers went out on strike March 1 in solidarity with the farmworkers. In the surrounding province the farm strike became a total one.

Rank and file solidarity.

Other strikes have been wildcat, have continued after majority unions (CC.OO., UGT) called for their end, or have hardened into bitter conflict with street fighting and police violence. A nationwide teachers strike that drew 56,000 public high school teachers and 24,000 teachers from private schools was prolonged indefinitely beyond the original three-day call even though it was declared illegal by the government from its opening day April 18.

A daily Barcelona assembly of 15,000 graphics arts workers voted to continue a mid-April strike affecting 80 percent



Over 300,000 people took part in May Day demonstrations in Spain. They were a further sign of growing militancy among Spanish workers.

of a total Catalonia census of 55,000 workers on three consecutive days following the CC.OO.'s decision to settle. Thanks to the work of picket committees, a majority of Barcelona bookstores and newsstands closed in solidarity with the strikers, who won an important demand that their collective contract be extended to include many additional categories of workers in jobs related to the publishing industry.

When a large Vigo (Galicia) shipbuilding firm suspended payments and began laying off employees, workers initiated a public protest. Police violence provoked periodic street fighting and barricades and led to the death of one worker from "emotional shock" when police fired into a demonstration. A total strike in solidarity with the workers at the plant and with those fired was called for April 25 in Vigo.

Similarly, a 24-day old strike of 2,000 Cadiz port workers and fishermen erupted when police tried to block strikers from

the port area. During day-long street fighting on March 28 three workers were wounded. Twenty striking farmers were wounded by police in early March in Aragon, and police prevented groups of more than two from gathering in public markets in Reus during the farm strike. *Guardia Civil* have been used repeatedly to protect strike breakers—e.g., riding with state-controlled fuel company trucks during the Barcelona transport strike, to harass strikers and to inhibit picket actions.

This strike wave provides a tribute to Spain's new labor unions, which were legalized only last May. Under pressure from Spain's militant working class, in less than a year the unions have built organizations capable of mobilizing industries nationwide, and—in spite of distinctly different political tendencies ranging from social democrat to anarchist to nationalist (Basque, Catalan)—they have managed to maintain solidarity and unity.

MIDEAST

Weizman stirs hope in West Bank

By Gidion Eshet

JERUSALEM

EZER WEIZMAN, ISRAEL'S defense Minister, is gaining popularity among the Arabs. Until last week he had been President Anwar Sadat's wonder boy. This week it is also the people of the West Bank who think he is different from other Israeli leaders.

It all started with the publication in *Time* magazine of the riots in the town of Beit Jallah near Bethlehem, south of Jerusalem. Students in one of the high schools demonstrated against the Israeli invasion into southern Lebanon and blocked one of the main roads in that village.

Israeli security forces were rushed to the scene. They dispersed the students and ordered them to return to their classes and shut the windows. This concluded, one window was opened and tear gas grenades were thrown into the classrooms. The students who could not bear the gas jumped from the windows and seven of them were injured.

Immediately after the *Time* publication, the army spokesman denied the story. Only one grenade was thrown, but into the courtyard, the spokesman said. He added that the soldiers did not enter the school at

all, in line with standing orders. The spokesman made this statement after an investigation conducted by orders of the Military Governor of the West Bank, Gen. David Hagoel.

Weizman was unhappy with this investigation and ordered another. The result: Gen. Hagoel was fired and two other officers are to be tried in a military court. These two officers—the Military Governor of Bethlehem and his deputy—are to be charged with violating army orders on dispersing demonstrators. Hagoel was sacked for the coverup of the actions of the other two officers.

The last time such severe action was taken against a high officer was in 1956. Then Col. Uri Ben Ari, currently Israel's Consul General in New York, was sacked by Premier Ben Gurion for his coverup of two officers who stole sugar sacks from Arabs in the Gaza Strip. Since then Israel has been proud of its "clean" army.

Many Israelis were unhappy with the way the army was handling its affairs. But the sacred cow had not been touched.

Sacking Hagoel, however, has more political impact than the disciplinary action against a general. Weizman has been building himself a reputation of a moderate Israeli leader.

But he is the proponent of a separate

agreement with Egypt and is fighting for further Israeli concessions to that country so that an agreement can be reached. He is known to oppose settlements in northern Sinai that are blocking the way to an understanding with Egypt.

To increase his power within the cabinet Weizman suggested some months ago the establishment of a "peace government." He did not clarify what this meant but his aides said that he wants to include the Labour party in the coalition. Begin was unhappy with this suggestion because it implied that the present government was not a "peace government" and Weizman dropped his idea.

Now he has taken a step to appease the West Bankers. Together with sacking Hagoel, the curfew imposed on Nablus last week after an attack on a tourist coach was lifted. To the anger of many rightists, Weizman does not hesitate to visit pro-PLO leaders like Karim Khalef, mayor of Ramallah.

These Israelis mistake him for a dove, which he is not. On the crucial issue of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Weizman has proved to be as hawkish as Begin. But in the present mood in Israel, seeking some way to break the political deadlock with Egypt and the U.S., Weizman is looked upon as the new savior.

TURKEY

Grey Wolves stalk Turkey's streets

By Christopher Paine

ISTANBUL, TURKEY

ON A RECENT THURSDAY AFTERNOON in the "Old Town" section of this ancient city, a group of leftist students gathered just inside the main gate of Istanbul University's walled campus. Over the past few years it has become customary, even necessary, for the students to enter and leave the campus in groups as a defense against attacks by the neo-fascist gangs proliferating here.

This time as they passed under the massive stone archway, the students noted a peculiar absence of police. By the time they saw the cluster of youths waiting for them in a narrow side street, it was too late. One youth tossed a bomb, another opened up with an automatic weapon. Within seconds, six students lay dead on the sidewalk. Scores more were injured.

The incident was only slightly unusual in Turkey, where rampant political violence has lately overshadowed the country's more prosaic forms of desperation—a \$4 billion foreign debt, 35 percent inflation, 2.5 million unemployed and a currency plummeting even faster than the dollar.

Like the economic problems, violence is not new to Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit. But unlike his quick success in obtaining International Monetary Fund assistance, Ecevit has so far failed significantly to curtail the operations of the "Grey Wolves," the neo-fascist commandos believed responsible for most of the political violence.

Official tallies of the number of "ideological deaths" are not available, but one respected journalist in Ankara, preferring anonymity, said in an interview that around 500 people have died as a result of right-wing violence since 1969. "Every year the number has increased."

He estimates that up to 250 deaths occurred in 1977, that there have been some 100 in the first three months of 1978.

Eight days after the March 16 attack at Istanbul University, a right-wing militant youth shot and killed Deputy Public Prosecutor Dogan Oz as he entered his car on his way to work. Oz had recently ordered the midnight search of an Ankara youth hostel known as a bastion for right-wing militants.

Ecevit issued a statement saying that with the murder of Oz "the terrorists have extended their bloody hands to the members of the judiciary, thus demonstrating openly their goal of destroying the foundations of the state."

Striking another pessimistic note, the new Minister of Interior, retired air force Gen. Irfan Ozyadinli, explained that "today's anarchy extends back many years and has rooted social reasons for it. Therefore, I think it will not be right to make any estimate about the time when a definite end will be put to these kinds of events."

Neo-Nazi party takes root.

Among the "rooted social reasons" alluded to by the minister was the backlash to the leftist agitation beginning in the late 1950s against the failed economic policies of the pro-western government of Adnan Menderes.

A member of the military junta that overthrew Menderes in 1960, Col. Alparslan Turkes, a pan-Turkish activist and known Nazi sympathizer, was expelled from the junta for his "authoritarian tendencies" and exiled to India. When he returned a few years later he took over a small centrist party, and proclaimed himself "Basbug" ("fuhrer" in Turkish).

Under Turkes the party gained middle-class and right-wing support during the student movement of the late '60s. By 1977 it had won 16 seats in the parliament and polled some 800,000 votes, about 8 percent of the total.

The avowed aim of the party is "to raise the Turkish nation to the level of contemporary civilization in full conscious-

A neo-Nazi party with its own commando organization, the Grey Wolves, is gaining strength in a depressed Turkey.

ness of science, morality and order, self-sacrifice and self-denial, dynamic nationalism and idealism." Its ideology is summarized in the form of "nine rays": "nationalism, idealism, moralism, corporatism, scientism, populism, progressivism, technologism, and defense of freedom and the peasantry."

The party advocates the necessity for unity between all the social strata of the nation, and suggests that private and public sectors should co-exist under a "strong state." Much of the program and rhetoric is borrowed directly from Nazi tracts of the 1930s, according to a professor at Istanbul University.

Support for the party comes mainly from the traditional middle class sector of merchants, craftsmen and farmers in the provincial towns. The young men from such families provide the bulk of the recruits for the party's underground commando organization, the "Grey Wolves."

Turkes' party was invited to help form

a new government in 1973 by Suleiman Demirel of the Justice party, who led a new Nationalist Front. Though the party had only three deputies at the time, Demirel gave them two ministries, including the post of Deputy Prime Minister, which went to Turkes.

Ecevit fighting right and left.

Under the Demirel government, the Grey Wolves unleashed a series of attacks against leftists with near total impunity, protected by sympathizers in the Interior Ministry and the armed forces, as well as local police departments. They boldly machine-gunned left-wing students before scores of witnesses in university lecture halls. The violence culminated in the murder of 38 persons and the wounding of 200 more at last year's May Day rally in Istanbul.

While the neo-fascist Grey Wolves are blamed for most of the political violence in Turkey, the underground left has also been participating. They have formed

groups like the Turkish Liberation Army, and in particular its "Acililar" ("The Ones Who Won't Wait") faction. Its main political activity, say observers, is "Rob the banks and kill the commandos."

Another underground group is TIKKO, the Maoist-inclined Turkish Workers and Peasants Liberation Army, which has connections with Turkey's much abused Kurdish minority and is therefore most active in the far eastern portion of the country.

Will the Ecevit government finally be the one to clamp down on the neo-fascists as well as the terrorist left? According to one Ankara observer, "Demirel said the only danger was coming from the communists, therefore we had to control the leftist movements. Ecevit's government is saying that, left or right, both totalitarian movements are dangerous, therefore we have to fight both sides."

"In the past, some of the policemen were complaining to us that they knew so many people responsible, but there was pressure from the top and they couldn't do anything. Now at least they are free to do their job. Of course there was some contamination in the police, but they will be cleaned out. Since Ecevit came to power the top people in the police organization have been changed, and in the Ministry of Interior also."

(© 1978 Pacific News Service)

Christopher Paine, a researcher for Pacific Studies Center in Palo Alto, Calif., is currently traveling in the Middle East on assignment for Pacific News Service.)

BRITAIN

Racist National Front defeated

By Mervyn Jones

ABY-ELECTION HELD IN APRIL has inflicted setbacks on the new movements that erupted into the political scene during the '70s—the Scottish National party and the National Front.

The by-election was held in Brixton, in south London. Here, more than anywhere else, blacks from the West Indies settled when they migrated to Britain in the '50s. Today, about a quarter of the voters are black.

Brixton has the feel of a ghetto; anyone who knows Harlem would feel at home. The old houses have declined into overcrowded slums. Schools, hospitals and welfare services are grossly inadequate. Unemployment is heavy; young people often have little choice but to hang around the streets when they leave school. It's a place where people improvise, live on their wits, and help each other, with the typical ghetto atmosphere of misery alternating with sardonic laughter.

But Brixton is a multi-racial community, with few solidly white or solidly black streets. There is a remarkable absence of racial tension. When fights occur they are between blacks and the police, not between neighbors.

On the figures, the winner in the by-election was Mr. Abston, who got 56 percent of the votes. Many people in Brixton—blacks especially—feel that the political parties offer them nothing. The Labour candidate was sure all along of getting into Parliament, but he has the positive support of only 10,000 among 48,000 voters.

In the current climate of sound and fury over the race issue, the by-election was a test-conceivably an opportunity for the National Front. The NF is the only party that is openly racist and that proposes to deport blacks. It campaigns with the slogan: "If they're black, send them back." Its propaganda put across the idea that the black presence is responsible for housing shortages, unemployment, low standards in schools, and every other evil from welfare frauds to mugging.

Brixton has acute social problems, and Brixton has blacks. For a generation, it has endured the experience of the "racial mixing" which the NF decries. Here, if anywhere—if the picture drawn by the NF has any relation to the truth—white voters should rise up and cry, "Enough!"

But the NF draws votes in white suburbs or small towns that are, in its language, "threatened"—where the recent arrival of a few blacks has aroused irrational fears. People who have adjusted to living in a multi-racial community are, as they'd say in Brixton, not bothered. The by-election proved that the NF could not mount any serious campaign.

In the busy market at the peak of Saturday shopping, I had difficulty in finding the NF candidate. A small band of 15 supporters was protected by hundreds of policemen. On inquiry, I found that the 15 came from all parts of London. The candidate claimed that there is an NF branch in Brixton, but refused to tell me how many members it has.

It would have been impossible for the NF to hold a street meeting; they would simply have been run out of town. They were lucky to have an excuse not to march, for the London ban on marches is still in force. They did hold one indoor meeting, at which their national organizer stationed himself at the door to prevent opponents from getting in.

The NF candidate polled 1,291 votes. The number is cheering, for a demagogic movement of this type is in trouble when it loses momentum. Hitler, after all, rose from obscurity to power in ten years. The NF is ten years old, and is not within sight of getting a single MP elected.

Sadly, one must add that the Liberal candidate in Brixton did even worse, with a bare 1,000 votes, despite conducting a principled anti-racist campaign. The Liberal party is now at a very low ebb. Sadly, too, the small parties of the left dissipated their efforts by fighting in rivalry. One group promoted an open meeting to select a candidate, a black postman who ran on a Socialist Unity ticket, but the other left groups refused to support him. There were in the end five left candi-

dates, and of course each polled a tiny vote.

So far as one can extrapolate from the Brixton result to the national picture, it was not good news for Labour. The Tory candidate (who, ignoring Thatcher's recent tactics, did not make a racist appeal) did well. On the showing of the by-elections held this spring, the Tories would win a general election, although they have lost the commanding lead they enjoyed in 1977. Callaghan still faces the problem—should he risk a 1978 election, or would 1979 be worse?

BEHIND THE SCENES IN TWO WORLDS

The People and the State in the German Democratic Republic and the USA

by Elaine Mensh & Harry Mensh

Examines democracy and the state, advocacy and criticism, the status of artists, intellectuals and working people, the issue of women's equality, attitudes and practices regarding racism in a socialist and a capitalist state.

ORDER FORM

Enclosed is \$... for... copy(ies) of BEHIND THE SCENES IN TWO WORLDS.
☐ paper \$4.95 or ☐ cloth \$15.00. Please include 50¢ postage and handling charges for each book ordered.

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

Mail to Dept. T1

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
381 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016



The Manley government has taken a hard line against Rastafarian culture. Above: Two Rastafarian youths.

JAMAICA

Manley regime moves right under economic pressures

By Richard Hayes

KINGSTON, JAMAICA

IT'S BLEAK," SAID DR. CARL STONE, head of the political science department at the University of the West Indies, in assessing Jamaica's economic future. "In the hills there's a return to subsistence farming, so at least they'll be able to eat. The rest don't realize what we're in for. Very soon they will."

Beset by economic reverses and internal division and feeling the whip of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the government of Prime Minister Michael Manley is having to back-track on much of its program for building democratic socialism in Jamaica.

The economic situation has inflicted a heavy political toll on both the "far left" and the "Manley left" factions within the governing Peoples' National party (PNP). Recent months have seen the resignation of left-leaning cabinet ministers and other officials, and newly appointed Finance Minister David Bell recently called for expulsion of all "known communists" from the PNP, a move aimed particularly at the Marxist-Leninist leadership within the party's Youth Organization.

At the same time a new hard-line stance is developing against the Rastafarian-influenced "I-Man" culture, composed of the throngs of poor, urban youth, who, with parts of the rural poor, have helped constitute Manley's grass-roots support. In February, army and police units set up the "Green Bay Massacre," an ambush in which five unarmed West Kingston youth were left dead.

While denying prior knowledge of the ambush, Security Minister Dudley Thompson inflamed tensions between the government and the street people with statements regretting that "more of them weren't killed" and pledges to "destroy the mad dogs of society."

The IMF denial of a \$74 million loan derailed Jamaica's development program.

Much of the current turmoil is the result of the IMF's December 1977 decision to terminate a vital \$74 million loan agreement drawn up just six months earlier. This threw the country's development program into a shambles, cutting hard into foreign exchange reserves and—of key importance—putting a halt to aid from the other world financial agencies that look to the IMF for its "seal of approval."

The IMF claimed it lifted the loan because Jamaica failed to meet an agreed-upon economic target, the "net domestic assets," which measures the relation between cash in circulation and existing foreign exchange reserves. The government protested vehemently, noting that the error—less than 3 percent off the agreed-upon figure—was within seasonal variation and that all other conditions of the loan had been met. Suspicions were voiced that an anti-Manley civil servant within the Finance Ministry had deliberately delayed certain transactions so as to

produce the off-target statistic.

The IMF officials in Washington held firm and before even agreeing to open negotiations for a new loan demanded the third devaluation of the Jamaican dollar in nine months.

It also sent word that the terms of any new agreement would call for changes in the full range of government policy, including moderation of Manley's "socialist rhetoric," replacement of left-leaning cabinet ministers and reform of Jamaica's election procedures. As acknowledged in a major blast at the Manley administration by Edward Seaga, right-of-center leader of the opposition Jamaican Labour party (JLP), "...the basic problems are not economic, but political and ideological."

New negotiations with the IMF are expected to conclude in May. The results, along with a comprehensive Five Year Plan for the economy, should be made public shortly thereafter. Still, prospects remain uncertain for the Manley administration.

"Even with the IMF, we'll need the other outside money" said one Manley advisor. "Without it we face a depression on the order of the '30s. What then? The army is extremely right-wing. The only course for the PNP may be to hold a coup against itself and change the rules of the game."

Other scenarios foresee formation of a coalition government with the opposition JLP; or it is possible Manley will call for a vote of confidence as early as September. Still others see Manley kicking himself up to some prestigious post with-

in the United Nations or Third World community.

Middle-class reaction.

Most observers, however, believe that if Manley can get the IMF money he should be able to hold on through the remaining four years of his term. The IMF strategy appears more directed at strengthening the hand of the moderate factions within the PNP, rather than turning the government over to the JLP, which itself is bitterly divided between a moderate and a right wing, and which has not yet succeeded in capitalizing upon current public dissatisfaction. Jamaican moderates themselves would much prefer to see Manley jettison the left and "return to the fold."

Many of Manley's difficulties in resisting the IMF seem to stem from an underestimation of the middle class' hostile reaction to his leftist policies and an overestimation of the speed with which a broad base of popular unity and commitment could be built.

Despite repeated socialist declarations the thrust of government action has been comparatively tame. Many public enterprises, such as the sugar estates, banks and hotels, had been running in the red before being nationalized, and such extreme measures as expropriation or renunciation of debt had never been seriously entertained by the government. Nonetheless, the middle classes were dismayed at Manley's surprisingly strong re-election victory in December 1976, and panic set in after his angry "Not For Sale" speech three months later, in which he lambasted the IMF and appeared to burn his bridges with the West.

"It was a riot," said one observer. "People were loading their furniture on the docks and everything. This really shook Manley, and he began back-tracking almost immediately."

The response was not surprising, given the balance of forces within the PNP. According to a former member of the Manley administration, "maybe 30 percent of the PNP is Marxist. The rest are pretty moderate. So word went down the corridors that 'the left gave bad advice.'"

PNP accomplishments.

A high official in the National Planning Agency, responsible for preparing the Five Year Plan, noted, "The right shift was inevitable. We were elected without as strong a base in the mass organizations as we should have had. The PNP has a long way to go with popular education. Our main job now is helping Michael stay in power. He's all we've got."

Other left activists within the PNP variously describe the work before them as: "more organizing in the constituency groups"; "easing the administrative bottlenecks on our good programs, like land reform"; "more popular education"; and "restoring the PNP local group structure, to reduce the power of the Ministers."

Several party workers stressed the difficulties caused by growing unemployment. "Our first need now is production in the communities. Chicken farms. Anything to get people working. It's desperate," said one.

Despite the economic turmoil, most Jamaicans do give Manley credit for putting them on the road toward building a new society. "Manley made us know we were Jamaicans," said a young library worker. "We didn't know that before."

People proudly cite Jamaica's new leadership role in world affairs, such as its chairing of the "Group of 77" developing nations in the UN. Improvements in housing, education and adult literacy are readily acknowledged. And while government and unions may quarrel over specifics of "worker participation" and "cooperative management," few would suggest that the old plantations be restored.

But for the moment, new efforts at major institutional change have been stalled and existing ones slowed. The key signs for Manley's—and Jamaica's—future are being anxiously awaited in the terms of the upcoming IMF agreement, the shape of the proposed Five Year Plan and the continuing changes in the cabinet, and in the response from the grass roots as these unfold.

(©1978 Pacific News Service)

Richard Hayes is a San Francisco-based community organizer and author.



Weeding workers: How the University of California is underwriting the loss of 170,000 jobs

By Douglas Zoloth Foster

In a field outside Woodland, Calif., mile-long rows of tomatoes are being picked, not by human hands, but by the metal hooks of a long, shiny harvesting machine. The fruit moves along wide conveyor belts, passing by infrared lights and color sensors that distinguish between green and red. This machine even knows how to sort ripe from unripe tomatoes.

A few human sorters are needed to complete the work; they stand on metal catwalks, exhaust blowing in their faces and sun beating down. It is a far cry from tomato harvests before 1964, when the fields swarmed with human pickers.

Nearly all processed tomatoes are harvested by machine these days. There is a headlong plunge toward mechanizing all American agriculture, and California is, for good or ill, the leader.

Farm workers most affected.

Most directly affected by mechanization, of course, are farm laborers. From 1964 to 1972 over 23,000 jobs were lost in California as a direct result of the introduction of the tomato harvester.

The adverse impact of mechaniza-

tion on farm workers is even more serious than these figures suggest, because the new, less physically-demanding job on mechanized tomato farms have been taken over by housewives and students, replacing those who have traditionally done the work, the migrant poor.

The introduction of electronic gadgetry for sorting, which began during the United Farm Workers (UFW) tomato strike of 1974, has thinned the number of tomato harvesting jobs still further.

The use of electronic sorting systems has its risks as well as benefits, as the growers in Yolo County discovered in 1976 when early rains tricked the electronic eye. For this reason the growers don't dissuade migrants from coming to the tomato districts at harvest time, even if there is very slight chance they will be needed.

Several California growers have openly said that mechanization is useful in curbing the influence of the United Farm Workers union. "One of the big assets of these machines," a large tomato grower told one reporter recently, "is you can get rid of a lot of trouble-makers." That anti-union slant has not been lost on the UFW. (See accompanying story.)

Mechanizing lettuce.

Of special concern to the UFW is research underway to mechanize lettuce harvesting. Lettuce is the financial backbone of California agriculture, more lucrative even than tomato production, and the state provides well over 60 percent of the nation's supply.

The harvester itself is a gigantic contraption. One model shoots gamma rays into the lettuce to tell if it is ripe; another emits a low-level x-ray. Ripe heads are lifted and cut, then sent on their way along a wide conveyor. Since the late 1960s, this machine has loomed in the background of contract negotiations between the lettuce growers and the UFW.

Relations between the growers and

the union have been fairly smooth in the past few years, and since the growers wouldn't save much money by switching over to mechanical harvesting, they seem to have put the lettuce machine on a back burner.

On the other hand, just as the end of the Bracero (Mexican contract-labor) program in 1964 fueled the switchover to a harvester in tomatoes a spirited attempt by the federal government to cut off the large pool of undocumented workers ("illegal aliens") might spur the transition to automation in the lettuce fields.

If the time ever comes when the growers decide they want to wipe out the 13,500 jobs in lettuce harvesting, they will be able to do so in short order. They have been assisted in this effort by the University of California and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which has spent \$720,000 at the Salinas Research Station alone to refine the lettuce harvester.

If the trend toward mechanization continues at its present pace, the effects on farm workers will be very serious. In one estimate, more than 170,000 jobs would be jeopardized in California alone: over half of all farm labor jobs in the state.

The stakes are much higher nationwide. In 1950 there were 4.3 million farmworkers in the country. In 1970 that figure had plummeted to 2.5 million, and in the last seven years has fallen still further, primarily because of mechanization.

Consumer concern.

Some consumer groups have also taken up the mechanization issue. Even though production of tomatoes in California has doubled as a result of the harvester's introduction, the price of tomatoes to the consumer has gone steadily up. At the same time, the quality of tomatoes has declined.

Through genetic manipulation, two thick-skinned, low juice tomatoes—the VF145 and the UC82—were developed by the University of California at Davis to go along with its mechanical harvester. The result is a pro-

duct which has come to be known, charitably, as "rubbery."

Consumer groups are also concerned about the increase of chemical residues on food as a result of mechanized farming. One fumigant used on tomatoes, DBCP, was banned last year when it was discovered to cause sterility in workers who handled it. Other chemicals that have been developed to ensure that fruits and vegetables ripen uniformly are now being studied for possible detrimental effects.

The introduction of more "labor-saving" machines in the fields will mean an even greater reliance on chemical poisons for crop management.

A third group directly affected by mechanization, but so far silent, is small and medium-sized growers. Eighty-five percent of tomato growers in California were driven out of business by the harvester, as the size of a viable, competitive tomato farm shot up dramatically.

The electronic tomato harvester costs \$123,000 and it is designed for use on farms of 125 acres or more. Unable to raise enough money for the large machinery, or simply lacking the acreage, small growers have simply left the tomato business. As mechanization reaches other crops, the same scenario is being played out.

Little guy is always pushed out.

Agricultural researchers are not troubled by this trend. Concentration of size and wealth in agriculture is, for them, a favorable and inevitable occurrence. "People don't realize when they're talking about the little guy being pushed out," tomato King Jack Hanna told IN THESE TIMES, "that he's always been pushed out in every other industry. Why should farming be any different?"

Large corporations such as United Brands and Tonneco have moved into agriculture in a big way. These large corporations not only intend to fully-mechanize harvests but also have plans underway to reduce other categories of farm jobs. In Salinas, for example, Bud Antle and Union Carbide, large lettuce growers, have been experimenting with transplanting young lettuce plants from greenhouses to the fields, thereby doubling harvest yields and reducing labor simultaneously.

Mechanical thinning, precision planting, and the wide use of "incorporator" herbicides have also cut the size of the farm labor force, although no one is sure by precisely how much.

The prospects of imminent job loss has spurred a flurry of anti-mechanization lobbying by the UFW and its allies, with very small payoffs so far.

The University of California Board of Regents has been prevailed upon to hold hearings on its mechanization research, but the likelihood of a moratorium on such research is next to nil. William Goblontz, Chairman of U.C.'s Regents, is part-owner of a \$1 million tomato farm in Yolo County. Two other regents have substantial holdings with Hunt-Wesson corporation, and a third sits on the board of Del Monte.

Legislative front.

Growers and producers have been exceedingly loathe to share decision-making about the introduction of these machines with anyone else. One UFW strike against an asparagus grower near Stockton has been dragging on for more than three years, hung up over the mechanization issue. The UFW insists upon being able to negotiate about mechanization—when, where and how it will be introduced. The grower is holding out for what he believes to be his inherent right as an owner to make unilateral decisions about automating.

"It's very difficult to deal with mechanization on a farm by farm basis," UFW spokesman Mark Grossman told IN THESE TIMES. "It's a statewide and national problem. That's why we're going out on the legislative front."

It is not at all clear that the legislative front will be enough. In fact, mechanization critics have had a difficult enough time just squeezing information about mechanization research out of the university.

Last October, the UFW was told there were five mechanization projects underway at the University of California. In February, the university admitted that there were 14. It now appears that there may be closer to 40 such projects. Just to eke the most elementary information out of the university has required great expenditures of the Farmworkers' limited resources, and meanwhile mechanization steams ahead.

Flaws in the image.

The achievements of American agriculture are undeniable. We live in a society where less than 5 percent of the population is involved in farming, and yet we are supplied not only with enough food for our internal market but also have quantities left over for foreign consumption.

Equally undeniable is the breathtaking quality of the quest for a wholly-mechanical agriculture in which no human hands must pick fruits and vegetables, and no human foot must touch the earth. The father of mechanically-harvestable tomatoes struck this chord when he told us, "I know what it is to pick tomatoes by hand all day long, and it's not a job people like to do. I'd rather work on a machine any day than carry those lug boxes out of the fields."

The image is powerful: No longer will bent backs be our harvest, no longer will sweat stream down the workers' faces, and no longer will America be haunted by the bitter legacy of farm labor conditions. Farm labor is to become technicized; farm workers will be computer programmers and the operators of gigantic machines. This is the freeway upon which we have been led by the agriculture experts.

Woefully, a dozen flaws mark their design. At a time when the U.S. is increasingly uneasy about its supply of petroleum, the heavy reliance on high-energy methods required by mechanized farms makes a headlong plunge in that direction unwise.

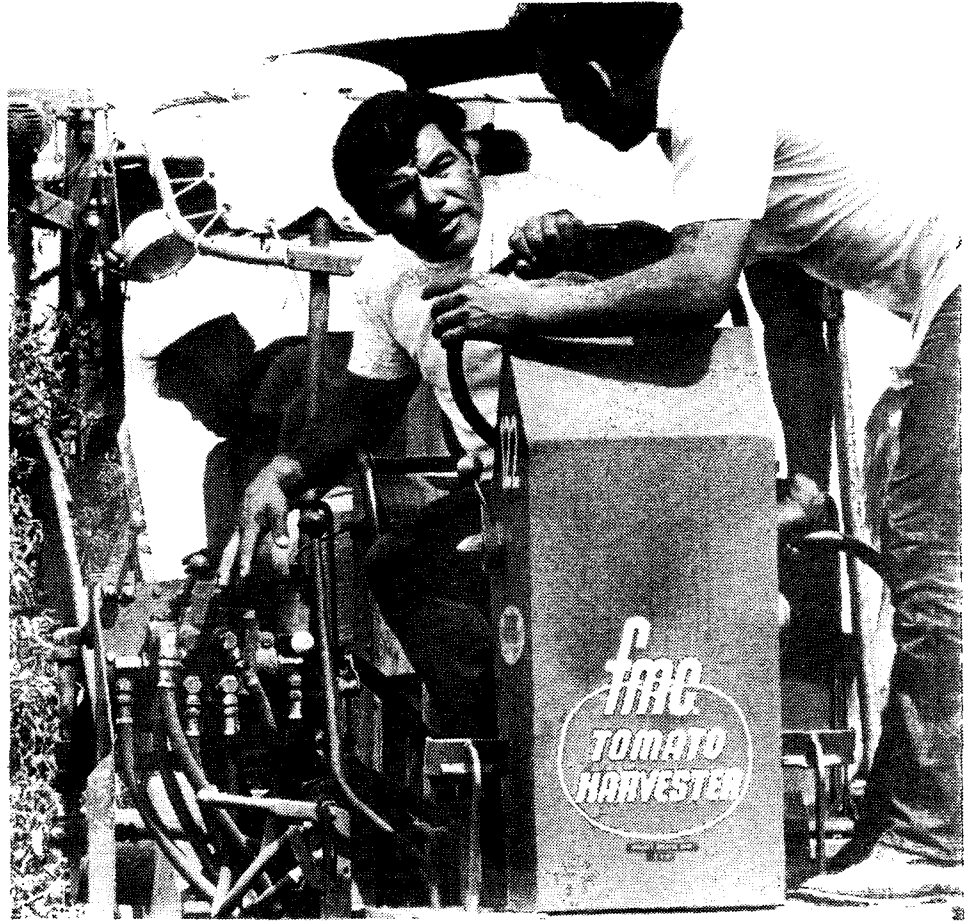
At a time when environmental poisons—the pesticides, "incorporators," fumigants—are being studied for possible carcinogenicity, that direction may be unhealthy.

Most importantly, at a time when unemployment is soaring, and welfare costs are burdensome, the prospect of unilaterally wiping out hundreds of thousands of jobs nationwide is prefiguring disaster.

Those who are slated to become farm technicians are not the same individuals who are scheduled to be thrown out of work by mechanization. How will a social impact statement be able to follow the twists and turns of the spinoffs from unemployment due to automation? Can we predict how much physical and mental disease, crime, and impoverishment will flow from the mechanized world of agriculture that looms before us? Who will pay these costs, and what is just compensation?

The state of California and the nation as a whole are only now beginning to scratch the surface of those questions. The controversy about mechanizing American agriculture promises to be prolonged, and increasingly heated.

Douglas Zoloth Foster is a free-lance writer in California.



Farmworkers tackle mechanization

By Sam Kushner

For a dozen years farm workers have fought a long and bitter battle to have their own union. Now that they have succeeded in establishing a beachhead on this front, they are embarking on a new campaign—for the right to a job.

Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers union is once more calling on the coalition of labor, youth, religious and Chicano groups that has helped the Farm Workers get to the point where they are in a bargaining position with the grape growers.

Their target is the University of California which, according to the UFW, has funded 29 mechanization research projects. These projects, the union argues, are oriented towards corporate needs, and could leave as many as 170,000 farm workers unemployed.

In February the UFW began its campaign against mechanization in characteristic fashion. On four Saturdays in February farm workers and UFW supporters gathered at different localities to listen to the UFW's position and to plan the future mobilization. The first meeting was in San Jose on Feb. 4, the next shifted to Los Angeles, with subsequent meetings in Delano and Celexico.

The Los Angeles meeting was attended by over 350 people—about one-fourth were farm workers from the surrounding area.

The deputy mayor of Los Angeles, Grace Montanez Davis, greeted the union's new efforts by saying, "This organization and this structure and your campaigns are probably the most powerful tool that the Spanish-speaking people has throughout California and we need you. It's not the other way around."

Cesar Chavez told the audience, "The purpose of the conference is first of all to call back our friends and to tell them that even though the boycott is over there are other issues we have to deal with and mechanization is one of them. We also need to get your input on how to carry out your program best... This is crucial because before long mechanization will become a major issue in California."

Chavez outlined some of the ravages of mechanization. He described

the mechanization of cotton picking in California in the mid-'50s as "the first direct hit" of the mechanizing process during which "about 180,000 farm workers in California alone were displaced."

"Just those mechanization breakthroughs that the University of California provided the growers back in the '50s and early '60s," Chavez said, "would account for 200,000 workers displaced."

"Our position is that mechanization should benefit everyone, not just the growers," he emphasized. "We would be the last ones to be against progress. But we can't call it progress when the University of California develops machines that replace a whole work force as they are now doing in tomatoes and lettuce, and then provides nothing for those workers who are displaced. We feel that if they are going to do that, the just thing to do is to take into consideration all of the aspects; not just the crops and the mechanization but the human beings who through their work were responsible for making it possible for the employer to buy those machines."

The decision of the UFW to go with the mechanization issue came after considerable debate within the top ranks of the union. It came on the heels of the union's decision to call off the grape boycott that had been in force since 1973 and the lettuce boycott that started in 1970.

According to union sources, there were some union leaders who insisted that the union should concentrate its efforts on completing negotiations on the more than 117 agreements now being bargained. This would give the UFW a total of 225 contracts with growers. But those who argued that the time had come to highlight the mechanization issue, led by Chavez, prevailed.

The UFW has made the mechanization issue a major political and economic concern. The effort appears to have strong support from the labor movement and from groups that have supported the farm workers over the years. It has already aroused some legislators and may well become a major question for presidential aspirant Gov. Jerry Brown.

Sam Kushner is a reporter in Los Angeles and the author of LONG ROAD TO DELANO.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Keeping them down, on the farm

If the farm problem tells us anything it is that the capitalist market system doesn't work. It doesn't cover the producers' costs and give them a decent income or motivate abundant production. It doesn't provide food and fiber to consumers at stable and reasonable prices or sustain the family farm. It doesn't conserve energy or encourage judicious use of the soil. It doesn't deliver nutritious food to all our people.

But the market system does tell us that we Americans are not as practical as we think. We know the system doesn't work in all these ways. Yet we are still so bewitched by the myths of "private enterprise" and the "competitive market" that we refuse to move toward a practical system of production and distribution that does work.

The farm problem is not new to American history. It has been with us since industrialization hit its stride after the Civil War. The cost-price squeeze, unmanageable debt, insufficient income, loss of farms by efficient producers and forced emigration to the cities were with us in the competitive era of American capitalism; they are with us today in the oligopoly era. Neither version of the capitalist market system has worked to preserve the family farmer, maintain a healthy rural community, feed the hungry, or balance the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors.

Both versions worked toward concentration of agricultural production and income, improvident exploitation of the soil, and growing control of farm producers by banks, insurance companies and food processing and marketing corporations. A solution of the farm problem can be found neither in appeals to a "free market" that does not exist, nor in nostalgia for the competitive market that once did exist.

The current market system as it affects American agriculture refers not only to the prices farmers receive for their products, but also to the "input" prices established beyond their control by non-agricultural corporate and speculative interests: the price of seed, feed, fuel, fertilizer, herbicides, pesticides, machinery and the price of land (including rent), interest on loans, and taxes. These "off-farm" prices form the essence of the farm problem. The prices farmers receive for their products are "low" only in comparison with "off-farm" prices. Any solution to the farm problem that does not deal with the price-market system in general will, therefore, be no solution. The history of price supports, loan subsidies, and production controls since the 1930s proves this.

By leaving alone the corporate price system in the non-agricultural sectors, government farm programs in effect have subsidized and reinforced inflationary corporate prices. They finance, not eliminate, the farmers' debt to the non-farm sectors, and sustain, not correct, the imbalance between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors.

The general price-market system and the government programs together have imposed an uninterrupted tendency toward larger, fewer and capital-intensive farm units. High fixed costs (in land, interest, taxes, machinery) force farmers to engage in extensive cultivation to obtain high yields over the largest possible acreage. This has required fertilizers (largely petroleum based), hybrid seed, herbicides and pesticides, fuel, all of which reinforce the drive toward mechanized extensive farming, and along with suburban sprawl bid up further the price of land.

The mechanization now spreading into fruit and vegetable cultivation (see pages



Yaqui Indian family living in El Mirage, Ariz. They work in cotton fields saturated with pesticides needed for maximum yields in mechanized farming.

“...one of the many things the free market is good at distributing is famine.” *London Economist, July 2, 1977*

12-13) repeats the process that previously took hold in grains, cotton, poultry, eggs, and livestock. The economics of mechanization goes hand in hand with concentration of farm ownership and production.

Since the end of World War II, three million farms and over 20 million people have disappeared from the land. By the mid-1970s the top 16.5 percent of the remaining farms (about 2.8 million) accounted for over 70 percent of gross farm receipts and over 60 percent of net farm income. The bottom 63 percent of farm units accounted for only about 10 percent of receipts and about 16 percent of net income.

The largest farm units yield good returns not through careful cultivation and lower unit costs, but by mass production methods that generate the largest possible aggregate return above rising fixed costs. Farm subsidies, tied as they are to unit prices and acreage production, benefit the larger farmers most and can not save the smaller ones from falling by the wayside.

The ecological and nutritional effects are equally important. Heavy fertilizer use has resulted in the erosion of one-third of the nation's topsoil and through runoff has contributed substantially to water pollution. High-yield hybrid seed makes crops unable to withstand or draw upon natural elements and hence requires chemical protection that harms the environment and causes human sickness. Hybrid food and animal feed are less nutritious and therefore need dietary supplements for both human and livestock con-

sumers. Meantime, the older hardier seed stock is disappearing, reinforcing the addiction to the hybrid-fertilizer-chemical system of extensive farming.

The fertilizer, chemicals, machinery and fuel add up to an energy-profligacy that has resulted in a ten-fold increase since 1910 in the ratio of energy input to energy obtained in food output.

The agricultural system has not only eliminated most of America's farm operators, but has also been eliminating farm jobs. Because the general market system cannot absorb them, these workers are dumped into poverty and onto welfare rolls.

The remaining farmers are less and less independent operators sturdily plying the glories of "free enterprise." Their skyrocketing debt (a record \$116 billion by the end of 1977, twice the level five years before) has left them increasingly subject to corporate dictates as to what crops they must plant, in what amount, and the methods they must use. As *Business Week* (Dec. 19, 1977) put it, "...the current financial squeeze will probably forever alter the relationship between the U.S. farmer and his creditors." And as a government agriculture analyst predicts, "Farmers will have less to say about how they manage their farms...[including] the common decisions that a farmer has to make—from the use of fertilizers to the purchase of tractors."

Farmers are becoming the 20th century mechanized version of the old-style sharecropper.

Instead of being a blessing, lightning

human labor or releasing it from food and fiber production for higher pursuits, mechanization and the price-market system have cultivated a garden of curses: ecological imbalance, crushing debt, rural dislocation and urban congestion, less nutritious food, energy waste, steadily rising prices, and an agricultural system controlled increasingly by huge corporations and banks.

There are many legislative proposals at the state and federal level for preserving the family farm. But family farming is fast becoming an historical anachronism; not much more than its death-rattle remains. The question is the restoration of the family farm, and the re-creation of an agricultural system that delivers nutritious food at stable and reasonable prices in an ecologically sound, energy-efficient and socially responsible manner. But for that, farm land, production, and distribution will have to be removed from control by the capitalist price-market system and placed under the control of people dedicated to farming as a way of life and to production and distribution for the general welfare.

As many of the legislative proposals recognize, that will require public financing and credit, overhaul of the tax laws, the redirection of education and research, public setting of marketing and production norms, and public control of land use to the exclusion of private speculation. Success along these lines in the agricultural sector cannot be achieved without socializing the price-market system in general.

Letters

Holy moly!

CCHEERS FOR IN THESE TIMES! Cheers for Bill Smoot! (ITT, Apr. 19). It's about time someone had the raw masculine courage to shoot down all those purists, all those lambs masquerading in wolves' clothing.

All of us socialist clone-heads have been waiting for someone to say what we felt about left-moralism. True, Smoot somehow failed to mention the distinction between objectively imperialist foreign policy and foreign policy that is imperialist in intention. And that the left showed little sensitivity to their own position as outsiders in Chile. But those are trivial omissions.

Next to the politics implicit in Smoot's subtle analysis, social democracy will seem like child's play. When Americans realize that the left welcomes Faye Dunaway's chest and Paul Krassner's editorial best, then we will truly have a mass movement. And IN THESE TIMES can have some of the credit for heading us in the right direction.

—Tom Denyer
New Haven, Conn.

An insult

YOUR INCLUSION OF "WAR-saw: An interview with a survivor" in the April 19 issue at first surprised me. The previous evening NBC-TV had aired their first show of what turned out to be a commercial exploitation of the Holocaust and Jewish suffering. Chicago newspapers were reveling in an orgy of Jew examination. I thought, good, maybe this time we will get an intelligent analysis or interpretation of the Holocaust and the Warsaw uprising.

I was disgusted, therefore, to find a report that included no analysis or logical conclusion. Instead, the lesson that we were to learn was that the present Israeli and Jewish leadership is involved in a betrayal of the ideals and goals of the Warsaw uprising.

Such a simplistic interview is an insult to people who have studied and tried to understand Nazi Germany, the Holocaust, and the development of Israel.

Many Jews involved in the Warsaw uprising looked to Israel as ultimately their only hope. Opinion as to the success, or betrayal, of Israel is varied. However, an article claiming to be based on the Warsaw uprising should either stick to the subject or give a coherent argument for conclusions regarding Israel.

—S.L. Satter
Chicago

The most complete

THANKS FOR THE PERCEPTIVE music section of May 2. "Punk, Rock, Folk and All That Jazz" were well-covered in that comprehensive group of reviews.

IN THESE TIMES presents the most complete music coverage of the myriad of left periodicals. Keep up the good work.

—Craig Canan
Nashville

The ones who count

THE COALITION FOR LESBIAN and Gay Rights (CLGR) is correct in pointing out (ITT, Apr. 19) that introduction of New York's gay rights bill was delayed by groups "interested in taking the heat off Democratic party candidates," but it should be clear to them—as it is to most politically astute New Yorkers—that a gay rights bill will only be passed with Democratic party support.

Because a referendum on this bill

would be harmful to those same Democrats, timing (i.e., delay) of its introduction was rightly deemed important. One doesn't line up votes by antagonizing and jeopardizing sympathetic voters.

One of the classic problems of any political movement is the need to distinguish between idealism and the pragmatic politics needed to get desired legislation passed. It's important to know who is responsible for introduction of a gay rights bill, and where they stand. But the most important thing is delivery: who's going to round up the votes to get the bill passed?

Democrats don't have a monopoly on civil rights. No one does. But in New York City, they are the ones who count.

—Josh Martin
New York

Treating us like people

GREAT CREDIT SHOULD GO to every person working to increase honesty of information and communication amongst and between all human beings. You friends on ITT—you are making a controlled media into a place where we, the people, hold a public dialog.

The sincere congratulations and affectionate love comes to you from a world of appreciative humanity. You've been treating us like people! I'm very grateful.

—Sammy Israel
Los Angeles

Correction

THERE WERE TWO MINOR ERRORS in your April 26 report on the Mobilization for Survival: 1) The May 27th United Nations demonstration is fully supported by War Resisters League—but also by many other groups. From the beginning May 27th has been a coalition action.

2) The June 12th Civil Disobedience action at the U.S. Mission originated with WRL and was then adopted as a national project by the Coordinating Committee of the Mobilization for Survival.

David McReynolds
Co-convenor
May 27th Task Force



Not alchemists but coalition builders, says Peggy Dennis

IN THESE TIMES editor James Weinstein has used his review (ITT, Mar. 29) of my *Autobiography of an American Communist: A Personal View of a Political Life* as a springboard for his own totally negative views on the history of the Communist party. His surrealistic views of the past have been discarded by his '60s political generation almost as soon as most of them began to grapple in the '70s with the nitty-gritty realities of movement organization. Jim, however, persists in his contention that the history of the CPUSA "provides only negative lessons" (the theme of his 1975 book *Ambiguous Legacy*). I am compelled to respond now because Jim uses my book, under the guise of reviewing it, once again to offer his assertions.

Weinstein praises my "searchingly self critical account" of my "own life and of the history and character of the American CP," as well as my "insights into the major political experience of

the American leftists." He concludes that "this book is an outstanding achievement."

However, in between the opening and closing praise, he does not define those self criticisms, criticisms and insights. Instead Weinstein dismisses them as expressions of my "loyalty [and] defense of her husband," and as reflecting my inability to "transcend" my past. This classic put-down (after all, women are mere extensions of their men, governed only by emotions, right?) becomes an easy ploy with which Weinstein obliterates my views of the Communist past as a varied, complex, contradictory experience holding both positive and negative lessons for the present.

He relegates the 1930s-1940s to an exercise in the "emptiness and banality of Communist politics." He reduces the major trend within the CP past, which at times from 1937-1960 was known as the "Dennis trend," to that of a "medieval alchemist seeking just the right combination of opportunism and sectarianism." As in the past, he continues to condemn to eternal damnation all CP history because the party did not conform to his opinion that it should have made socialism the major issue at all times.

Actually, the '30s-'40s were an epoch in which the Communists played their finest role as Marxist strategists and tacticians. They were decisive catalysts, participants, leaders, in the massive economic, political anti-fascist coalition struggles that brought the CP and the people's organizations to the apex of their organizational strength; helped bring into existence a new militant rank and file labor movement; forced into acceptance the totally new concept at that time of government (even capitalist government) responsibility for tackling people's needs; compelled the first-time adoption of a system of social security, unemployment insurance and public works-welfare programs; helped win an anti-fascist war; displayed sophisticated abilities to analyze and bring into broad coalition struggle all strata of mainstream America, which compelled the country in a generally progressive, democratic direction; and publicly articulated the socialist commitment.

Far from being a medieval alchemist's preoccupation, as Weinstein claims, the conscious awareness in the past of having to steer clear of both opportunism and sectarianism was then, and should be today, an awareness of the ongoing problem that confronts all socialist movements everywhere since the time of Marx. To balance, politically, deep and practical involvement in immediate struggles with education for socialism is axiomatic, yet this is the most difficult and complex to achieve in reality.

Weinstein seems unable to recognize, let alone cope with, the contradictions, dialectics, complexities of all social and human phenomena. My political self criticisms, criticisms and insights of the past, reflected in my book, deal with some of the realities as we lived them. I recognize strengths and weaknesses, achievements and mistakes, heroisms and stupidities, ebbs and flows.

Space does not permit the temptation to deal with the many specifics in Jim's review that expose this blindspot. Suffice it merely to mention Weinstein's inability to comprehend that the CP could have consciously struggled to root the party firmly in the American scene while retaining its blind allegiance to the Soviet Union.

Nor can Weinstein accept the contradictory fact that the Soviet Union could have made gargantuan mistakes and at the same time, under the circumstances of the early development, have inspired the emotional commitment of freedom fighters and socialists the world over.

How much easier to ignore the contradictory social forces at work in history than to grapple with these realities and try to understand them.

In unbelievable naivete, Weinstein transposes two totally non-comparable moments of history in order to once again belabor his own schematic view of history. Approvingly, he quotes my

opinion that Stalin revealed a lack of faith in the attracting powers of socialism when he declared the *Soviet people in the socialist country* to be an "unlimited reserve" for the deposed class enemy; (a characterization that became the ideological basis for the years of massive arrests, imprisonments, executions). From this, Weinstein contends that the American Communists showed this same lack of faith in socialism when, in the 1930s-1940s in capitalist U.S., they did not make socialism the major issue in their activity but instead built the powerful coalition struggles and organizations.

—Peggy Dennis
Oakland, Calif.

James Weinstein replies

The purpose of a book review is not to repeat the book's content, but to say what it is about, to give an estimate of its interest and importance and to discuss the questions that it raises or avoids. I wrote that Peggy Dennis "remains fiercely loyal" to her husband—which I do not regard as a putdown—but that "as an early feminist" she was able to maintain a critical distance and that this, combined with "a principled integrity," enabled her to write "a book filled with fascinating and sometimes painful revelations and insights into the major experience of American leftists" from 1920 to 1960. Those who want to know more should read the book. I hope many people will.

I also wrote that despite the book's many virtues, Dennis had "not fully transcended the framework of thought in which she was enmeshed for so long." Her letter confirms that observation.

She is mistaken when she writes that I am unable to comprehend that the CP could consciously have struggled "to root the party firmly in the American scene while retaining its blind allegiance to the Soviet Union." I take her at her word, and I cited her assertions that she and the party did struggle to do this. But they failed. It was an insoluble contradiction. Blind allegiance to the Soviet Union made it impossible for the Communists to keep socialism alive as a movement rooted in the "American scene."

And by the mid-1930s they stopped struggling to do so. As party leader Earl Browder later admitted, in the Popular Front period, socialism was relegated "to the ritual of chapel and Sundays, on the pattern long followed by the Christian church." This happened because the party could not permit public discussion and debate of socialist goals and policies, much less popular participation in such discussion, as long as these were decided for them by the Russian party.

Popular participation in the formulation of goals and policies would have meant that they could not be changed overnight, but only through further public discussion—and then only if the proposed changes made sense. The party never permitted this. Its leaders could not even think seriously about the different historical tasks facing socialism in the U.S. and in the Soviet Union, because to do so would be to run the risk of offending the Russians—and undermining their own leadership positions in the American party. Peggy Dennis herself relates that it was impossible for her husband to break with this Russian influence even after the 20th party Congress and the Hungarian invasion in 1956.

In his brilliant new book, *Labor and Communism*, Bert Cochran puts it much better than I have. He writes that "repeated ideological shock treatments had housebroken the Communists into overdeveloped operators and underdeveloped thinkers. They had become politicians for whom tactics were everything while the purpose for the tactics was entrusted to higher authority." If that was true, and I believe that it was, then it should be no surprise that the Communists were unable to inspire large numbers of Americans with a vision of a new, more democratic and humane society.

By Ronald Radosh

LABOR AND COMMUNISM: The Conflict That Shaped American Unions

By Bert Cochran

Princeton University Press, 394 pp., \$25

Some 20 years ago, in the pages of *The American Socialist*, Bert Cochran wrote that historians had largely glossed over the role of Socialists and Communists in the two most decisive decades of our modern history. He urged left historians to "restore the true picture." Now Cochran has finally undertaken this long overdue task and has written a careful, scholarly work that anyone concerned with the relation of socialists to the union movement must consult.

How the Communists—the largest socialist movement in recent decades—related to the CIO in the '30s and '40s has been an untold story—except in highly distorted works like Max Kampelman's *The Communist Party vs. the C.I.O.* and David Sapos's *Communism in American Unions*.

Cochran begins by examining Communist policy in the period 1927-1935. The Comintern then ordered Western parties to break with liberals and socialists and to build revolutionary Red unions. But because the party's shrewdness, energy and organizational talent was put at the service of doctrinaire bombast, by the period's end the Communists had failed to transform organizing "prestige into recruitment of workers striking under their leadership."

The switch to the Popular Front in 1935 allowed the Communists to enter the mainstream of the labor movement, and to play a major role in organizing the CIO. Cochran gives the Communist party full credit for that effort. But he shows how the party entered into organizational work on terms set by John L. Lewis, who controlled the Communists when he employed them and discarded them when their services were no longer needed.

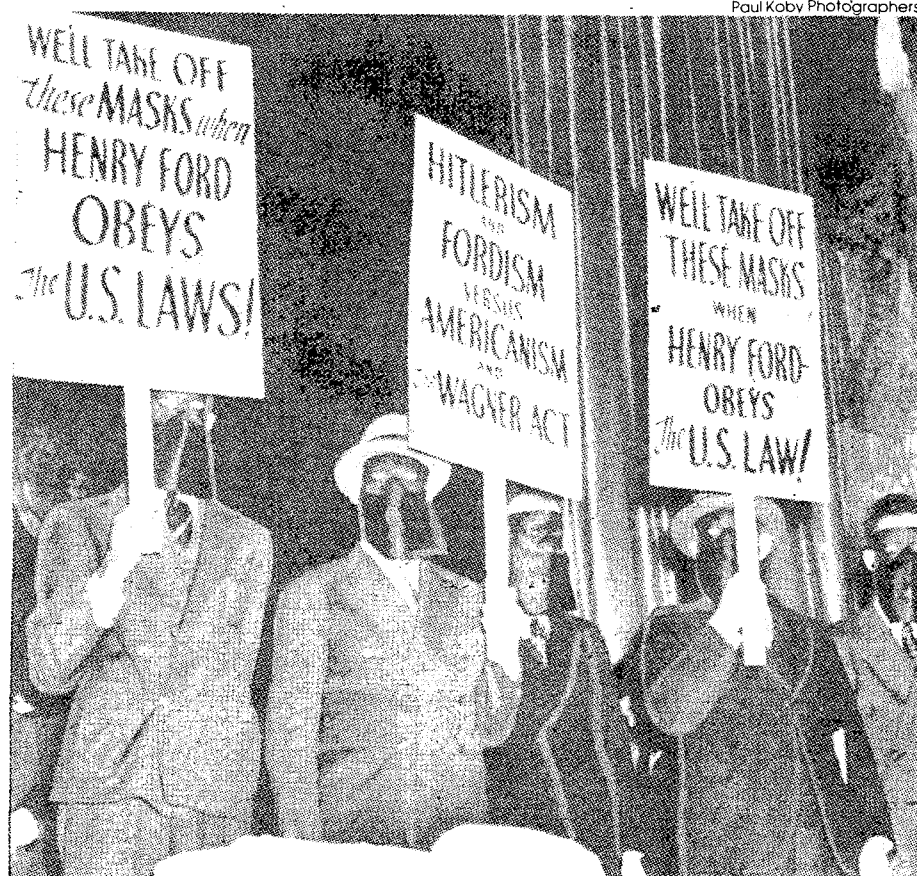
The Communists were the major force in organizing the United Automobile Workers. Cochran points out that Walter Reuther in the early '30s was a Socialist party member, "on intimate terms with the Communists," who would not have been a delegate to the first UAW convention without the party's support. Cochran stresses that in the early days of the Popular Front, "there was no differentiation between what the Communists were doing in Local 155 and what the Socialists were doing in Local 947." Reuther was close to the Communists, Socialist party unionist Frank Winn explained, because he recognized that the Communists were "functioning as good trade unionists."

Beyond this, Cochran conclusively shows that the Communists played a major role in the great Detroit auto workers' sit-down strike, and especially in the Fisher body plant in Cleveland, an event that "set in motion the most momentous single strike in American labor history." In this action "the three Reuthers...and other Socialists, all important in the strike, worked in kinship with the Communists, since on union matters they saw eye to eye." It was a case of individuals with different ideologies uniting behind a strategic objective in a major social conflict. Cochran notes that the Communists were more moderate than either John L. Lewis or John Brophy. The CP wanted the sit-downers to leave the plant before a victory if GM agreed to negotiate, while Lewis demanded that they remain. It was Lewis whose resolve forced an old-style bourbon corporation to capitulate, along with the sympathy shown by Gov. Frank Murphy and the decision in Washington not to use government power against the UAW. The party had little to do with that.

Although prestige again accrued to the party because of its hard work, it was never translated into membership gains. Cochran concludes that "in light of the policy-making power that the Communists sought to wield, their organizational influence was far in excess of their ideological influence." They were unable to develop socialist consciousness among their constituency. And since the CP leadership pursued a policy bent on maintaining unity with CIO leaders Phil Murray and Sidney Hillman (the left-center bloc), Earl Browder even lowered the boom on the

IN DEPTH

Communists' CIO organizing role



Ford workers at 1935 New Jersey CIO Convention, masked to avoid recognition by company spies.

Michigan party when in 1937 it opposed the CIO's decision to have sit-downers evacuate Chrysler during a strike. Yet by 1938 the Communists were pushed out of any major leadership in the UAW, revealing that they "had made little headway in ideological penetration."

CP defeat.

Cochran argues that the CP policy of maintaining left-center unity led to its ultimate defeat. In 1940 Communist Lee Pressman read to the CIO Convention a resolution that the CIO reject guidance from parties that espoused foreign ideologies. Len DeCaux argues in *Labor Radical* that this "was a smart move to save the necks of the left," but Cochran asserts that it was "an accumulation of such 'smart' moves that helped in time to bury the Communists. By voting hypocritically for resolutions that denounced them, they appeared as unprincipled tricksters whose dubious associations and ideas could not stand the light of day."

While the party was on the verge of being ousted from major CIO positions during its anti-war phase between 1939 and 1941 (corresponding to the Nazi-Soviet Pact), the change in line after Russia was invaded saved it.

But the CP had no sense of balance, and its members became 150 percent Americans while regular unionists were often portrayed as fifth columnists. Under Browder's leadership, the party championed incentive pay bonuses, and Harry Bridges bluntly (and without the usual party hypocrisy) called for unions to become "instruments of speedup of the working class of America." The problem was simply that workers did not want to be speeded up for the benefit of company profits. Patriotic rhetoric could not change capitalist reality.

Even when the party cemented an electoral alliance with Sidney Hillman, who used the Communists in much the same way Lewis had earlier, CP policy did not lead to massive increases in membership. In effect, Cochran writes, the CP was a non-mass replica of the mass European socialist parties, composed of an active cadre adhering to a patriotic policy that aligned the party with broad labor and

liberal leadership. Its demise, therefore, has to be traced to the party's assumption that the Russian-American alliance would continue during the post-war epoch, the rub being that "no one had any assurance [it] would survive wartime imperatives." The party was torn "between their hopes for acceptance in the wider society, and their old family allegiances." Cochran contradicts the assessment made by William Z. Foster in 1952, who then argued that the party came into the postwar era with 150,000 members not because of Browder's opportunism. Rather, Cochran asserts, it was precisely Browder's policy of involvement in the mass democratic left "that marked out and accounts for the party's halcyon periods of influence."

Enter the Cold War.

With the rupture of the American-Soviet alliance, it was axiomatic that the Communists would be pushed out of whatever remaining positions of influence they still held in the CIO. But once again, the Party helped to dig its own grave. At the 1946 CIO Convention, party leaders supported the famous resolution that stated that the CIO delegates "resent and reject efforts of the Communist party...to interfere in the affairs of the CIO." The rationale of the party was the necessity to maintain the center-left bloc, and to allow Phil Murray to protect them against the right (Reuther, Carey, etc.).

Cochran disputes the party's estimate of Phil Murray. "Murray had neither a bloc nor an understanding with the communists, and his difference with the right was transient and secondary." Dubbing Murray a staunchly conservative business-agent type of union leader, Cochran notes that Murray was trying his best "to summarily clean out the Communists as he had done earlier in the steel union." Why did the CP take such a self-defeating course? Len DeCaux argues that the party "had to retreat under conditions that threatened a rout." CP labor columnist George Morris wrote at the time that the action was correct since the party had "succeeded in eliminating all the major damage that the right wing sought to include in it. That is how a united front

works." To which Cochran comments: "If that is the way a Communist united front is supposed to work Lenin would be turning over in his grave." Thus, he concludes, Phil Murray "made the Communists place the noose around their own necks."

In a brilliant concluding chapter, Cochran compares the anti-Communist fight in two unions—the UAW and the Communist-led United Electrical Workers. Challenging the assessments of writers such as Irving Howe, B.J. Widick and others, Cochran argues that Walter Reuther's campaign for leadership was not a democratically fought battle won without resort to Red-baiting. Rather, he writes, Reuther's drive "fed on and sustained the delirium that was spreading in the wake of the Cold War." Reuther was not even opposing a Communist-led faction; he was only fulminating against Reds to further ambitions not related to the Communist issue. The UAW, he argues, was more democratic when different factions contended for leadership, and he sides with recent critics who claim that Reuther's leadership "spelled the end of the auto union's turbulent democracy."

In discussing the UE, Cochran pays major attention to the CP's leadership role, a factor glossed over by James Matles in his memoir, *Them and Us*. He notes that the UE "was an effective organization for its members in trade union terms"; that James Carey's anti-Communist caucus had no chance of gaining member's support because "the average UE member...was confronted with the choice of supporting an administration of experienced, dedicated, reasonably effective Communist influence officials, and an opposition of untested and somewhat untrustworthy aspirants to office." Even in a hysteria-ridden time, UE members did not turn their backs on the trusted Communist leadership. They saw the anti-Communists as incompetent and irresponsible, and "they clung to the proven leaders they had despite antipathy for their politics and the surrounding pressures." The UE was eventually expelled from the CIO, and as Cochran notes, was subject to the most fierce U.S. governmental attack since Woodrow Wilson's vendetta against the IWW.

Cochran also offers the only valid explanation for the CP's decision to ditch the UE after 1951, a strange episode for which Matles—who failed to own up to the CP presence in the UE—had no satisfactory explanation. Cochran presents a devastating account of the CIO purge of the left-led unions, explaining that CIO officials believed that the union movement could not survive if it defied current U.S. foreign policy. In so doing, they were responding to the same tropism that had led Gompers during World War I to flay anti-war advocates, and that led Murray to repudiate Lewis during WWII. With a national CIO dependent on both government favor and the Democratic party, which had come to expect a "responsible" labor unionism and leadership, it was only a matter of time before CIO leaders would translate the nationwide anti-Communist consensus to the CIO. The expulsions, Cochran writes, "signalled that the CIO's crusading days were over, and that its constituent unions were hardening into quasi-conservative enterprises." CIO policy was hence to be set on the grounds "that social betterment was to be achieved at home in partnership with political and industrial elites who stood at the head of an expanding imperium abroad."

Cochran, unfortunately, offers no overall estimate or conclusion about Communist activity in the union movement. Nor does he seek to suggest what lessons might be learned by a new generation of socialist union members about how to work in the union movement. But for those who seek such insights, his book provides a solid framework from which some of the answers may be found. And please, Princeton—let us have a lower-priced paper edition.

Ronald Radosh, a sponsor of ITT, is author of *Prophets on the Right: Profiles of Conservative Critics of American Globalism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975). He is a member of the National Board of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □

For a socialism that works, Part II

This is Part Two of a three-part series that we hope will inaugurate an ongoing exploration of an American form of socialism, how it would work, and what it would reject or build upon in the American historical experience. We invite responses to the series as well as original articles on the subject. Our hope is to stimulate American socialists to develop critical and concrete thinking about the practical problems of a socialist economy in the U.S.

We need a new economic system comprising, broadly speaking, several sectors:

(A) a "public sector," composed of regular government administration, at all levels of government, and parts of the economy under public ownership. This would include utilities and other special industries whose form of public ownership and organization are designed to provide a special degree of government control, for purposes of regulation or planning, or for reorganization of an industry into a unified entity. It would include both conventional nationalization and public ownership of utilities at lower levels of government.

(B) a "market socialist" sector, composed of all other business corporations, to be operated exactly as private firms, on a competitive and commercial basis, with regular financing and the control of management separated from government, but with ownership vested in a new system of investment banks owned by local governments (cities, towns, counties, townships, etc.). The purpose of such public ownership is not government control but greater equality through the socialization of ownership.

(C) a private sector composed of small business, including family-operated farms, for the large parts of the economy where small business has genuine economic advantages and where socialization of ownership would either bring little gain in equality or damage incentives.

(D) a cooperative sector composed of consumer and producer cooperatives, where, for any reason, such as circumvention of monopolistic power, advantages of bulk purchasing, or other considerations, equity and well-being of people can be improved by their formation.

The underlying conception here is neutral with respect to the question of the optimum mix of government planning or other intervention, and market forces. That decision, and the decisions on ordinary nationalizations, are to be made *first*. Then it is proposed, in the *remaining* parts of the economy where government power to hire and fire the management of firms is not necessary, to put all corporate business firms into sector B. The underlying conception here is versatile and could be applied in many countries with widely differing circumstances and widely differing amounts and types of government economic planning.

In the U.S., most utility industries and perhaps some other special industries or parts of them should be put into sector (A). But the great bulk of corporate business should be put into sector B.

The central concern here is with sector B, and we will now focus on that alone.

What is proposed is a radical innovation in socialist thinking that, I suggest, could provide solutions—not perfect solutions, there is no such thing, but workable solutions—to a series of practical dilemmas of the socialist idea that have therefore been politically fatal to democratic socialism. By solving these problems the tables could be turned and pri-

vate corporate capitalism, in the U.S. as well as in other countries, could be made vulnerable to a new type of socialist political offensive.

Confronted with the great economic advantages of the "free enterprise" concept, socialists have tended to drag their feet about admitting these advantages fully and explicitly. Let us take a different course: Let us scrutinize the belief that in order to make a competitive market economy work with efficiency and dynamism it is necessary to have individual citizens as investors in big business, and hence millionaires and billionaires. The latter folks are very certain about that theory. Let us look at it.

Today in the American capitalist economy a large role is played by private "institutional investors." Indeed, close to half of all new stock issues go to such private organizations, as opposed to individuals. On the other hand, many European countries have had a century of successful experience with publicly owned municipal and financial institutions, such as savings banks and insurance companies. It would be only a small step in logic—but a vast step socially and politically—to put together these two familiar notions into a wholly new, and separate, institution—namely a system of investment banks that would be owned by local governments and would, in turn, be the owners of corporate business.

It is proposed that these banks be induced into existence by the national government offering to distribute socialized securities to such a bank in each locality where the local government established a bank meeting specifications laid down in national law. These banks would be operated under a pattern of regulation, but not direct control, by the national government in a manner little different from existing government regulation of private banking and other financial institutions.

It is proposed that the securities of all corporate business be socialized by national legislation and then distributed to these local government investment banks, with this transfer, and the necessary transitional arrangements, directly stipulated in the socialization legislation itself.

It is proposed that these public banks then hold and trade in these securities and buy the new securities issued by corporations and, by exercising the stock voting rights, hire and fire the top management of corporations, all with the sole aim of maximizing their own profits. These public banks, along with some existing types of institutional investors having a group character, such as mutual insurance companies, universities, and employee pension funds, would form a capital market among themselves. Stock markets, with some modification in their organization and procedures, would be retained but with trading on them, not by individuals or stock brokers and dealers trading on their own account, but solely by such socially owned institutions. To meet the needs for new capital, these banks, in addition to receiving the corporate securities upon socialization, would also receive new capital funds periodically from the national government out of taxation.

These banks would then pay their dividend and interest earnings to their respective local governments, which in turn would be free to use this income—a new type of "revenue sharing"—for any purpose, i.e., either tax reduction, operating expenses, or improvement and expansion

of public services. This would give the local government a self-interest in enforcing management of its bank so as to maximize return on its assets.

In this way, capital, via both stocks and bonds, would be allocated under the economic discipline of ordinary commercial principles to the firms in the market-socialist sector. The social function of stock markets would thus be performed but without any possibility for individuals to get rich from the process.

The underlying conception here is a market process for publicly owned capital that is separate both from the national government and from the particularistic interests of individual local governments. Each firm is to be separated from control by any single local government; no firm is to be "based" on any particular locality. These banks, in turn, are to invest in operations, not in their own locality, but in other localities across the nation; these banks are not local "planning" bodies and have no "social responsibilities" whatever, except to earn profits in the national capital markets. The "decision-maker" is not local governments but an impersonal national market process that, actuated by the self-interest of individual local governments, operates, as a system, automatically to steer capital to the most profitable uses and locations, as measured by market forces.

Whether the resulting pattern of investment is optimum from some social point of view is irrelevant; the purpose of *this* part of the economic system is solely to provide such a market process. Where the results of this process diverge from the socially desirable, then *separate* government measures can be used to promote the results desired.

This approach for sector B would require effective regulation of the local government investment banks by the national government. There are genuine problems here. But these problems appear to be manageable, and the impurities would not be crucial to the over-all success of the system.

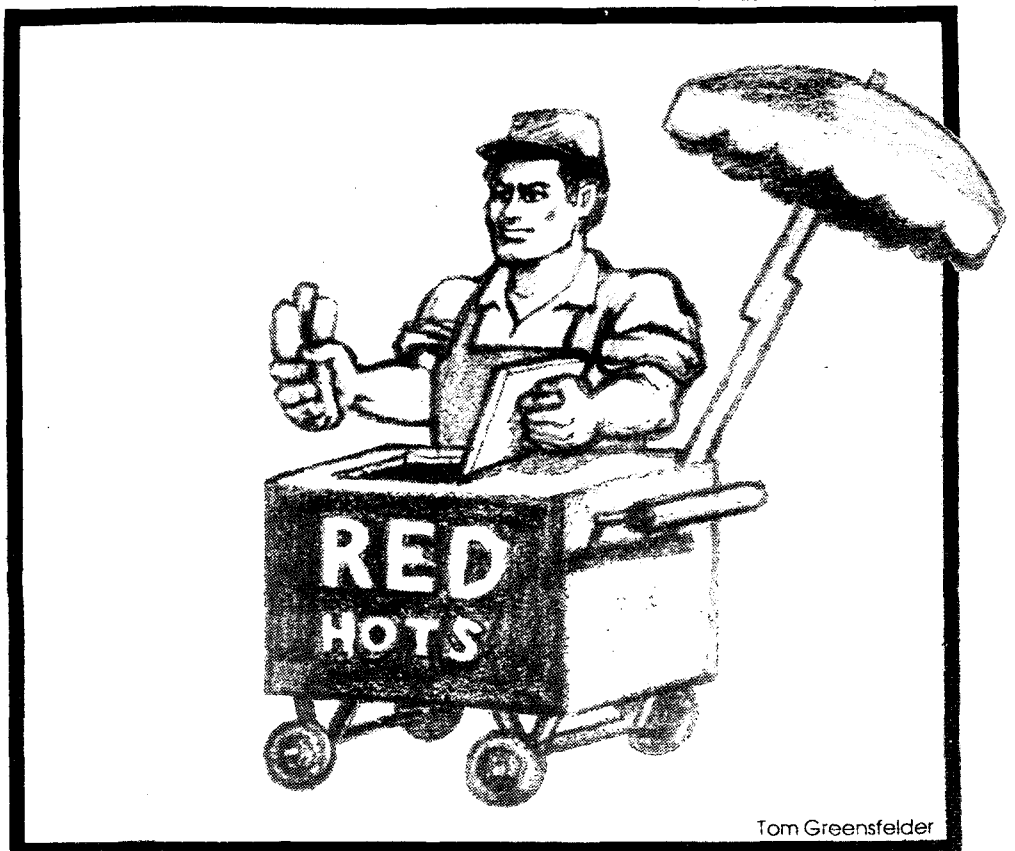
In regard to capital for high-risk in-

vestments, the proposed system of local investment banks would not, by itself, be adequate. But it could be supplemented by other arrangements and measures. The national government could underwrite, by annual reimbursements to these banks, a certain percentage of their capital losses incurred in certain general categories of investments, such as common stocks of small companies, where rates of return, growth rates, and the risks are often high.

American governments today, by countless devices of financial inducement, share the risks of "private" investment. The national government could play exactly the same game with such publicly owned local investment banks. Further, in promoting both specific broad purposes and specific projects that are deemed important, governments can (and already do) share risks or assume the full risk, and they are under incessant pressures to do so from business executives themselves and countless interests in society. Any reduction in private venture capital caused by the expropriation of large family wealth would lead to increased pressures upon governments to provide venture capital in other ways. The rich are no longer essential for "venture capital."

Such an ownership structure for sector B—by vesting ownership and control of individual firms neither in the national government nor in any single local government but in a marketized system of a vast number of local public banks—could retain all the advantages of competitive free enterprise and the flexibility of capitalist organization but within the framework of social ownership of means of production.

(Part III, Slaughtering sacred cows.) Leland Stauber is professor of political science, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. He is the author of the forthcoming book, Market Socialism and the Problems of Control: A Reappraisal of Practical Experience. The views outlined in this three-part series are presented in greater detail in his article, "A Proposal for a Democratic Market Economy," Journal of Comparative Economics, September 1977.



Tom Greensfelder

FAMILY ALBUM OF U.S. LEFT CULTURE

For the first time: the story of German, Yiddish, Slav, Finnish, Ukrainian, "Debsian," Communist, Popular Front Culture in America, 1880-1940. Also **Cartoons** by Art Young, and artists from Yiddish and Finnish Socialist humor magazines. **Poetry** by Morris Rosenfeld, Covington Hall, Arturo Giovannitti. **Jokes and Stories** by Morris Winchevsky and T-Bone Slim. L.C. Fraina on Modern Dance. New Contributions by **Peggy Dennis** and **Lester Rodney** on the 1920s-30s. SPECIAL SECTION on Sports and the Popular Front. 116pp (8½x11"), \$2.50.

In **Cultural Correspondence**, #6-7, the quarterly of Left Culture and Humor. Subscription: \$5/year. c/o Dorrwar Bookstore, 224 Thayer St., Providence, RI 02906.

SPECIAL OFFER: One year **Cultural Correspondence** plus Andre Breton, **What Is Surrealism? Selected Writings** (Monad Press, 600pp, list \$8.95 pbk); both for \$10.

Arafat

Continued from page 2.

event of a new civil war, it was more than likely that the rightists, who control the army, would inherit the arms. "It's a risk they have to take," he said of the Americans.

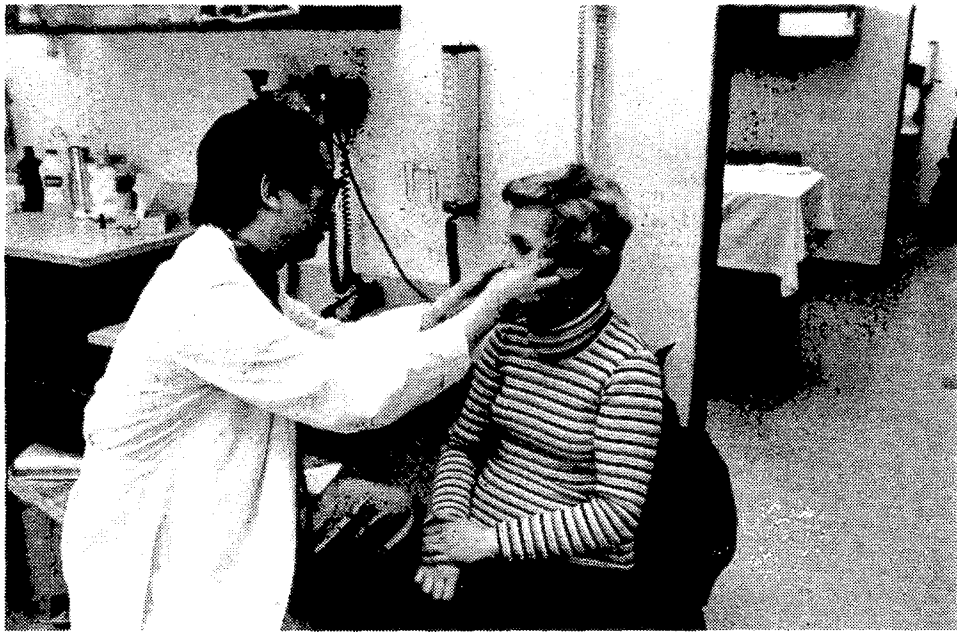
When I returned home to the U.S., I looked back through *Uncertain Greatness*, a study of Henry Kissinger's diplomacy by ex-Security Council staffer Roger Morris, where I discovered an interesting passage:

Ironically, however, it was the most ruthless exploitation of internal weakness that crowned Kissinger's Middle East policy in 1975-76... As Lebanon plunged into a bloody civil war, the CIA, with the connivance of the intrepid if short-sighted Israeli intelligence service, was accused by

some officials of supporting covertly the fighting that inflicted an awful, temporarily crippling attrition of the PLO. Allegedly conducted by the special Israeli bureau of the CIA, the Lebanese operation proceeded, according to these sources, while unwilling American diplomats tried to arrange a ceasefire, and while congressional and executive oversight groups were consistently misled on the scope and purpose of covert involvement in Lebanon.

Morris is no flaming radical, nor is he a partison of the PLO. His book is informed by diligent scholarship and inside knowledge. In the passage above, Morris is clearly trying to protect both himself and his sources by couching his accusations in the most tentative form.

Along with the statements of the ambassador and Dory Chamoun, they add weight to Yasir Arafat's suspicions of American involvement in Lebanese internal affairs.



Health Service

Continued from page 7.

all health insurance bills are longshot propositions.

The Kennedy and labor-backed Committee for National Health Insurance is apparently relieved that there is finally a "more radical" bill to "legitimize" their own, but Dellums and his supporters have a different outlook. They are convinced

that a real alternative to the current system will be received with greater public enthusiasm than watered-down, bureaucratic tinkering. They concede that winning public support isn't going to be easy, but as one Gray Panther supporter told a Kennedy staff member, "Why start by compromising? If you fight for what you really want, the ultimate political compromises will be that much closer to your goals."

Joyce Goldstein is executive director of Health Service Action in Washington, DC.

REVIEW

Editor: Immanuel Wallerstein

a journal of the
Fernand Braudel
Center for the Study
of Economies,
Historical Systems,
and Civilizations

Review is committed to the pursuit of a perspective which recognizes the primacy of analysis of economies over long historical time and large space, the holism of the socio-historical process, and the transitory (heuristic) nature of theories.

Contents of Volume I, Nos. 1 and 2, include:

Anouar Abdel-Malek	East Wind
Arghiri Emmanuel	Gains and Losses from the International Division of Labor
André Gunder Frank	Long Live Transideological Enterprise! The Socialist Economies in the Capitalist International Division of Labor
Huri İslamoğlu and Çağlar Keyder	Agenda for Ottoman History
E. Le Roy Ladurie	Occitania in Historical Perspective
Karl Polanyi	The Economistic Fallacy

Double issue on "The Impact of the *Annales* School on the Social Sciences," Vol. 1, No. 3/4, including articles by Fernand Braudel, Jacques Revel, Traian Stoianovich, Halil İnalcik, Peter Burke, Eric J. Hobsbawm, Norman Birnbaum

I wish to subscribe to Review for one year (four issues). I enclose a check for \$10 payable to Fernand Braudel Center, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton, New York 13901, U.S.A.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Country _____ Postal Code _____

Random Samples

Son of S.I

Jan. 31, after eight days of debate, the Senate approved S.1437, the criminal code revision bill, by a 72-15 vote. Some amendments were adopted, but the bill still contains many repressive features. Attention now shifts to the House where the bill is known as H.R.6869.

Opponents of the bill encourage citizens to write to the members of the House Judiciary subcommittee on Criminal Justice and to Judiciary chairman Peter Rodino (D-NY). Members include: James Mann (D-SC), Elizabeth Holtzman (D-NY, chairperson), Sam Hall (D-TX), Lamar Gudger (D-NC), Bill Lee Evans (D-GA), Charles Wiggins (R-CA), and Henry Hyde (R-IL).

Born again?

Dick Ebersol, who originated NBC's often irreverent *Saturday Night Live* program, is now, at 30, NBC vice president in charge of variety, comedy and specials. Nine months ago he says that he decided to dedicate his life to Jesus and was "born again."

But he denies that his new outlook will lead to any new moral standards around NBC. "All it does is give me peace of mind in my personal life," he told the *Washington Post*. "But whether it will affect my programming, it doesn't. It just makes me think clearer, but that just means that I probably think more commercially than I did before." (*Sojourners*)

Need new directors

According to the Associated Press, Harold M. Williams, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, told the fifth annual Securities Regulation Institute in San Diego, Calif., that he would like to see the boards of directors of corporations composed of "independent" members who are not active in corporate management.

The large corporation, Williams said, "has ceased to be private property even though theoretically still owned by its shareholders, and has become, in essence, a quasi-public institution." He said that management control frequently focuses on short-term economic gains and "encourages and rewards conduct often contrary to the long term best interests of socially accountable business."

(Thanks to Roger Peace)

Self defense starts young

An 11 year old girl has successfully fought off two would-be child molesters. As she was walking home from school, a car with two men stopped, and the passenger opened his door and grabbed the girl by the arm. She flipped him onto his back on the sidewalk, chopped him in the neck with the edge of her hand and jabbed him in both eyes with her fingers.

The driver jumped out, screaming, "That's murder!" Neighbors, alerted by the noise, called the police and both men were apprehended.

The girl is the daughter of a woman who studied judo and a man who holds a brown belt in karate. She was unharmed, except for a slight bruise on her arm where the man grabbed her.

(Plexus/Off Our Backs)

Women in sports

The Women's Equity Action League (733-15th St. NW, Washington, DC 20005) has compiled a looseleaf kit on "Women in Sports." The kit includes the text of laws affecting women's participation in sports, reprints of articles, charts, cartoons, copies of government documents and materials developed by WEAL to help evaluate the situation at your school or college and to take action. Useful bibliographies list fiction and non-fiction books for both children and adults. Price is \$4.00.

Riches for Ob-Gyns

Doctors who treat "female problems" apparently have no problem collecting fat fees for their services.

A survey by the National Opinion Research Center indicates that gynecologists and obstetricians are among the highest paid medical professionals in the country. The survey, conducted for HEW, reveals that the average specialist in gynecology and obstetrics annually earns a comfortable \$69,000 before taxes. The average MD in the U.S., by contrast, squeaks by on a mere \$53,000 a year.

The typical Ob-Gyn, in addition, takes a vacation each year of between five and 11 weeks, the survey reports.

It all works out to average earnings of as much as \$1,685 per week, or \$294-337 per working day.

BEHIND THE SCENES IN TWO WORLDS

The People and the State in the German Democratic Republic and the USA

by Elaine Mensh & Harry Mensh

Examines democracy and the state, advocacy and criticism, the status of artists, intellectuals and working people, the issue of women's equality, attitudes and practices regarding racism in a socialist and a capitalist state.

ORDER FORM

Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ copy(ies) of BEHIND THE SCENES IN TWO WORLDS.
☐ paper \$4.95 or ☐ cloth \$15.00. Please include 50¢ postage and handling charges for each book ordered.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Mail to Dept. T1
INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
381 Park Avenue South • New York, N.Y. 10016



No movement for the transformation of American society can hope to succeed without a strong element of patriotism. The Left needs a rationale for social change that flows naturally out of our unique American history, experience, and revolutionary-democratic-humanist traditions.

Send \$1 for pamphlets and other material:

The New Patriot Alliance
The New Patriot Alliance
Room 305, 343 S. Dearborn
Chicago, Ill. 60605
312/663-1664

MDEM SEEKS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MDEM, an interfaith social change organization in rural Southeast Missouri, is seeking an Executive Director.

REQUIRED QUALIFICATIONS:

1. Commitment to organizing poor people for social change
2. At least 2 years administrative and supervisory experience
3. Proven communications skills, including writing ability, public speaking and fund-raising

Salary: In the \$10,500 to \$11,500 range, depending on experience and training.

For more information, send a resume to:

MDEM, Box 524, Hayti, Missouri 63851

MDEM is an Equal Opportunity Employer

LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS

Action needed to control colleges

By Mark Naison

RECENT REVELATIONS OF fraud and favoritism in National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) investigation procedures dramatizes what many people have known for a long time: Big-time intercollegiate athletics are among the most corrupt and exploitative activities in American sports.

The payoffs, bribes and doctored transcripts so graphically exposed in recent congressional hearings are only one part of the story. Just as serious is the cynical exploitation of scholarship athletes from poor families who are placed in programs that give them almost no time to attend classes in return for the spurious promise of a "free college education" and a shot at making the pros.

No systematic statistics have ever been compiled on the percentage of scholarship athletes who graduate with their class or graduate at all, but the record of some highly successful athletic institutions suggest a problem of staggering dimensions. Some people might argue that examples like Texas Western, where none of the starters on the 1966 NCAA championship basketball team received degrees, or Arkansas, where only one of 25 black scholarship athletes graduated, are not representative, but I suspect that a close look at the programs at Oklahoma, Arizona State, Maryland and hundreds of other schools would reveal a similar pattern. I'm convinced that thousands of athletes, many of them black, are being recruited under misleading circumstances and are being used to generate revenues for universities without getting a fair return for their services.

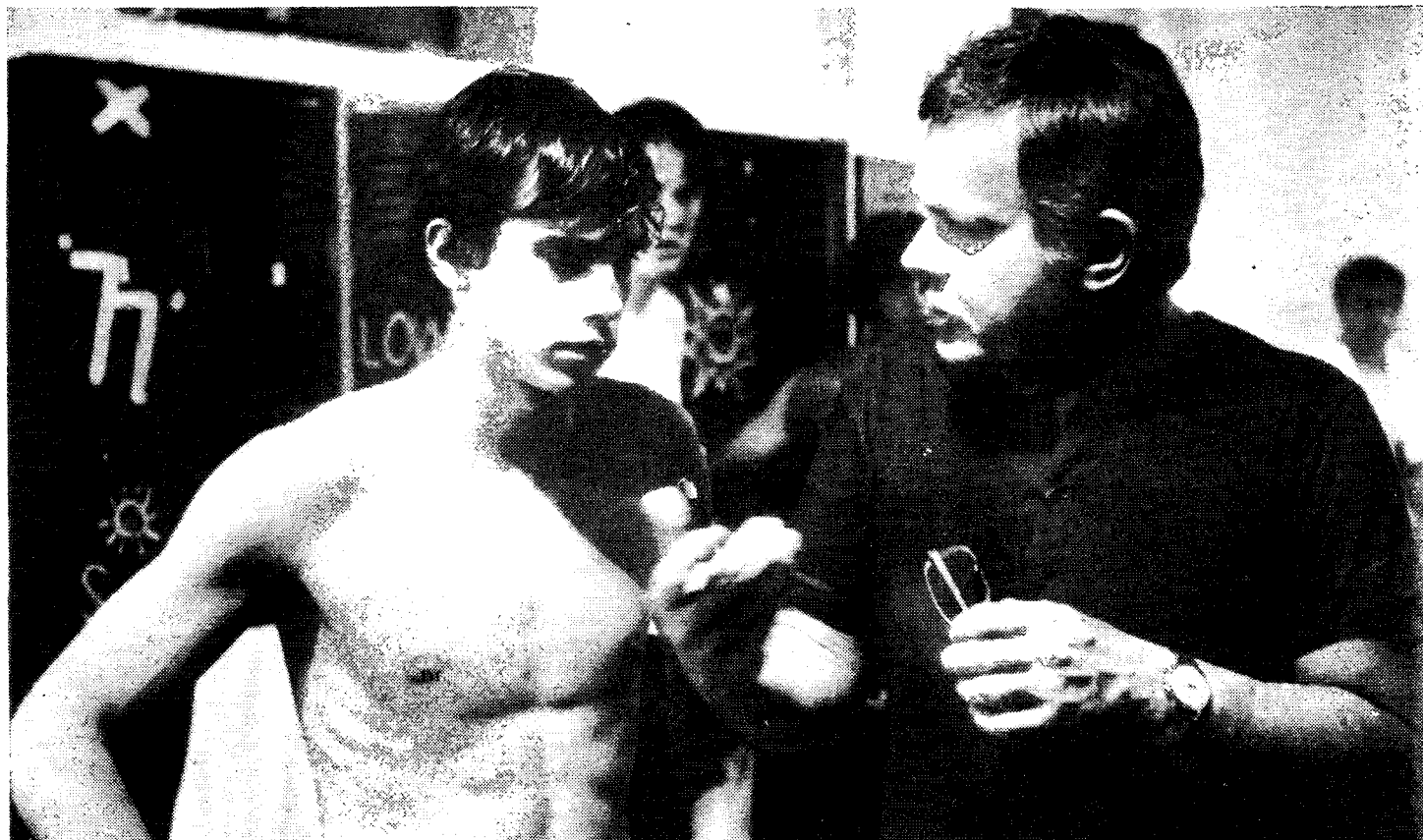
Federal legislation is required to check these abuses. The NCAA, the self-regulating body of university athletic departments, has never taken the problems of scholarship athletes seriously—its primary concern has been to protect its member institutions. Universities have demonstrated that they are no more willing to eliminate the exploitation of scholarship athletes than private industry was willing to check the exploitation of its workers in the days of *laissez faire* capitalism.

Indeed, the atmosphere of cutthroat competition that pervades big time college sports, and the huge money at stake in TV contracts, alumni contributions and grants from state legislatures place pressures on coaches and athletic directors that make it very difficult to run a successful athletic program in the revenue-producing sports without taking advantage of the athletes involved. College athletes, unlike their counterparts in the pros, have no union, and often work under sweatshop conditions, receiving little return for long hours of labor, suffering from irregular and often inadequate medical care, authoritarian treatment at the hands of coaches, and a complete absence of any grievance machinery.

Concerted action by faculty, student, and community organizations on specific campuses might remedy some of these problems, but in the long run, local efforts will be swept aside by the pressures of the market unless they are reinforced by some central regulatory agency.

Federal legislation should have the following objectives:

- To create a federal commission, with powers of investigation and subpoena, to examine college sports programs.
- To require the publication of annual financial statements by college athletic departments, with detailed breakdown of recruiting expenses, available on request to students, faculty and federal investigators.
- To require the publication of annual reports by athletic departments, detailing



While public exposure of college recruiting and scholarship abuses is useful—like that in the movie *ONE ON ONE* (above)—it is not enough. Legislation is required.

what percentage of scholarship athletes receive degrees and graduate with the class. Such reports should also be given to every athlete being recruited by the school.

• To provide for collective bargaining rights for college athletes and the right to be represented by counsel in all negotiations with athletic departments regarding academic or athletic status.

Officials of FANS and Sports for the

People have tentatively agreed to cooperate in publicizing conditions in college sports and in generating and refining legislative remedies. I would also like to enlist the aid of *IN THESE TIMES* readers.

We need information about what percentage of athletes graduate at particular schools, or in entire athletic conferences. If you can get such information about institutions you attended, worked

at, or are otherwise familiar with, please send it to me, c/o *IN THESE TIMES*. I am also interested in getting statements, signed and notarized if possible, but anonymous if necessary, describing misleading recruiting practices, payoffs, maltreatment of injuries, racial discrimination, or pressures that make it impossible to function as a full time student while playing competitive sports.

HISTORY

Making history more accessible

RADICAL HISTORY REVIEW
MARHO, Box 946, NYC 10025
\$15/year for "regular income," \$7.50 for "low income"

HISTORY WORKSHOP
History Workshop Journal, Box 69,
Oxford OX2 7XA, England
\$12/year

"We believe that history is too important to be left to 'professional' historians and their 'professional' journals. We refuse to recognize the traditional academic boundaries between theory and practice, research and active cultural and political work. We are committed to a collective effort to overcome establishment professionalism at every level."

So says the Middle Atlantic Radical Historians Organization (MARHO), publisher of *Radical History Review*. To a degree *Radical History Review* achieves its objectives. Just as MARHO has, by and large, withdrawn from political activity at professional conventions in favor of sponsoring its own forums and conferences, so in *Radical History Review* there is a refreshing conversational directness as left intellectuals talk to one another without worrying about academic great ones listening in.

This virtue, however, is at the same time a limitation. *Radical History Review* remains a talkshop for radical professors; in this sense it does not transcend professionalism at all. It has not involved persons from outside the sub-culture of full-time intellectuals.

The latter is the special contribution of *History Workshop*. This periodical grew from workers' education workshops at Ruskin College, Oxford, where workers learned to write the histories of their own

trades and neighborhoods. It, too, seeks to combat professionalism: "Serious history has become a subject reserved for the specialist. The restriction is comparatively recent. It can be attributed to the consolidation of the historical profession; to the increasing fragmentation of the subject, especially as it approaches more modern times; and to the narrowness of historians' preoccupations, along with the way that research is organized and shaped. Only academics can be historians, and they have their own territorial rights and pecking orders. The great bulk of historical writing is never intended to be read outside the ranks of the profession...."

History Workshop sets itself the goal of making history "relevant to ordinary people," as well as "a more democratic activity and a more urgent concern."

When either of these journals addresses a problem remote from the experience of readers—say, the character of the transition from feudalism to capitalism (*Radical History Review*, Winter 1977; *History Workshop*, No. 1)—the results are indistinguishable: there is no way to tell from the article which journal one is reading.

Radical History Review, however, has no counterpart for a *History Workshop* article like "Victorian Railway Workers" by Frank McKenna. McKenna's article is copiously footnoted and as scholarly as one might wish, but with a difference. Because of his 23 years as a railroad worker McKenna is closer to the physical and emotional reality of what he writes about than is the ordinary historian. His own experience recurrently helps him to ground and comprehend from within the events he relates: the fact that railway housing was usually built separately from the

housing of other workers; the importance of the written word in railway management; the various grades of work connected with the use of the horse, some of which "were still in existence in my early days on the railways."

Nor should one suppose that such an article lacks theoretical insight. To the contrary, the piece ends with a remarkable discussion of railway "bailiwicks": the platelayer's "length" of track, the shunter's cabin, the signal box, the cab—enclaves of physical space, but more fundamentally, areas where "men stamp the work process with their own customs and practice."

The concreteness of "Victorian Railway Workers" rubs off on *History Workshop* as a whole. One finds in *History Workshop* photographs, for instance of women in Nazi Germany or of men who sold alcohol to South African miners; but also a 19th century working class autobiography reproduced in the original typeface, lively accounts of the creation of people's historical museums ("It all started when Ivano Trigari found outside a friend's house, half-covered by earth, an old farming tool locally known as a *stadura*"), the story of writing and producing a play about a servant girl imprisoned in 1871 for stealing a postage stamp from her employer, and discussions of children's historical novels, workers' libraries, history on film and the TV, myths, memories (an elegant article on "Local History and Oral History"). In place of book review, *History Workshop* has pieces called "Enthusiasms."

History Workshop gives us a glimpse of what doing history might be like in a society with a socialist movement.

—Staughton Lynd



Women's Writes

Some new & old books explore women's lives, history & rights

Christie as Queen of the Amazons in *WORK*
by Louisa May Alcott

Unknown works by well-known women

WORK

By Louisa May Alcott
Introduction by Sarah Elbert
Schocken Books, N.Y., paper,
\$5.95

WOMEN AND LABOR

By Olive Schreiner

Preface by Jane Graves
Virago Press, London
(4th Fl., 5 Wardour St., London
W1V 3HE)

Here are two "finds"—reprints of works by famous 19th century women writers, which have been not only unavailable, but virtual-

ly unknown to modern feminists.

Work is a novel—to a large extent autobiographical—by the author of *Little Women et al.*, which deals with the struggle of women to achieve dignity and independence through their own paid labor—to live, in other

words, as society expects men to live.

The choice between earning and marrying for a living is the critical choice for the heroine of *Work*, as well as for most of the subsidiary women characters. The difficulties put in the path of a woman who opts for earning provide the material of the plot. The resolution is positive.

Christie, who has worked and married and borne a child, finds herself at last where she "belongs"—speaking at an organizing meeting of the Working Women's Association.

The style is as sentimental and sententious as one would expect from the author of the March family chronicles, but the content of *Work* is profoundly realistic. It is a look at the real world in which the real Louisa May Alcott worked so hard at all sorts of jobs to support her family, that she was never able to take the time and pains to write as well as she knew she should.

There is an excellent introduction by Sarah Elbert, which puts the novel and its author in context for those to whom Alcott would have been addressing herself if she had written *Work* about the world of women today.

The same kind of an illuminating biographical essay prefaces Olive Schreiner's *Woman and Labour*, which has been rescued from oblivion by a new feminist press in London.

For those who know Olive Schreiner only as the author of *The Story of an African Farm* (or not at all), Jane Graves' essay is invaluable. It is followed by a longer and less interesting introduction by Schreiner herself, most of it a lament for the loss of the original manuscript, which was burned by invading troops in the Boer War.

Women and Labour is all that Schreiner could reconstruct of the lost *magnum opus*, which sounds as if it might have been a 19th century version of de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*. Much of it is a reconstruction of history of the sort one finds in Beard's and Boulding's work (cf. pp. 21 & 22.) But Schreiner's emphasis is unique.

She regards work as a *right* of which women (particularly

middle and upper class women) have been gradually deprived. She attempts to prove that this deprivation is responsible for the degeneration of the women who suffer it, and that when too large a segment of the female half of any society is afflicted with what she calls "parasitism," the society crumbles. She therefore pleads for equal access to meaningful work for women "...not for herself, nor even for fellow-women alone, but for the benefit of humanity at large."

"We take all labour for our province!" means the work of governance as well as house- and midwifery. Women, in Schreiner's view, are peculiarly fitted to adjudicate questions involving war and peace because they "manufacture" the raw materials with which wars are fought and pay at least equal shares of the ultimate cost.

She has some sharp commentary on which sex is better fitted to make laws concerning "the temporary sale of the female body for sexual purposes" and other legislation that directly and painfully affects women. And she is remarkably clear on the source of heat in discussions of sex roles and changes in them.

"Social disco-ordination and subjective conflict and suffering ...make themselves more keenly felt in the region of sex than in any other...because when we enter that region we touch the spinal cord of human existence, where sensation is most acute, and pain and pleasure most keenly felt. It is not sex disco-ordination that is at the root of our social unrest; it is the universal disco-ordination which affects even the world of sex."

Graves' preface claims that, fragmentary as it is, *Women and Labour* became the "bible of the women's movement" when it was published in 1911. The style—stiffer than Alcott's, but no less sententious—separates it from that sort of audience among the contemporary feminists. But there are seminal ideas in Schreiner's work that are only now ready for cultivation—one of which is the possibility—indeed, the inevitability—of co-operation between men and women for the liberation of both. —J.S.

Lost novels about real American heroines

BREAD GIVERS

By Anzia Yezierska, \$3.95

DAUGHTER OF THE HILLS

By Myra Page, \$3.95
Persea Press, New York

Why would someone interested in women's fiction want to read a newly reissued novel, long out of print and written by an obscure author, when she could read Jane Austen and Virginia Woolf or pick up the latest Erica Jong or Joyce Carol Oates on her next trip to the A&P?

From the traditional academic point of view, great literature, by virtue of its excellence, magically survives its author, transcends its time and stays famous forever. The implication is that if a literary work dies, stops being published or never gets published in the first place, it must have deserved its fate. The logical conclusion of this reasoning is that

there are few good books by women in print today (as compared with the number of good books by men) because women haven't written many good books.

By ignoring the social and historical context within which writers create literature, this logic falsifies the truth. "Which writers have survived their time and which have not," feminist critic Louise Bernikow says, "depends upon who noticed them and chose to record the notice.... Such power, in England and America, has always belonged to white men.... In spite of token talk about Brontës and Dickinsons, most women writers have gotten lost."

In other words, many novels by women haven't died natural and deserved deaths. The literary establishment, the cultural gun thugs of the ruling class, murdered them.

To read once lost, newly found

novels is one way to recover our lost heritage, both literary and historical. By learning about where we've come from as women we can begin to teach ourselves where we should go as feminists.

For these reasons Persea Press' reprinting of Anzia Yezierska's *Bread Givers* and Myra Page's *Daughter of the Hills* is a wonderful event.

Bread Givers was originally published in 1925. Written by a woman who grew up in New York City's Jewish ghetto in the early part of this century, the novel concerns a woman's efforts to gain an education, become self-supporting and, most important, become an emotionally independent person apart from her family, whose religious tradition denies the humanity of women. *Bread Givers* chronicles Sara Smolinsky's painful internal war between her drive to become an autonomous hu-

man being and the love and resentment she feels toward her family.

Like the novels of Charlotte Brontë, *Bread Givers* records the passion, suffering and hunger of its author. Like Brontë's heroines, Sara Smolinsky seems to exist alone in a distant, hostile world. The rage of the writer, a powerful woman fettered by oppressive social conditions, drives the novel forward. Yezierska's humor—the tart, self-deprecating, defensive, angry humor of the oppressed—makes the reading rich.

Daughter of the Hills, first published in 1950, has warmth, calm and lyricism quite different from the emotional rawness and psychological realism of *Bread Givers*. Page's novel is the fictionalized biography of Dolly Hawkins Cooper, who spent her life in the Tennessee coal fields not long before the founding of the United Mine Workers. The story of a woman's growth toward political activism, *Daughter of the Hills* is also a love story reminiscent of Appalachian ballads, the romantic tale of a perfect marriage doomed to end through the death of the man. John Cooper's death, however, isn't romantic. He dies of injuries he receives in an un-

safe mine.

Daughter of the Hills suffers from a strange artistic conflict between its naturalistic treatment of the miners' oppressive working conditions and bittersweet community life and its idealistic treatment of a marriage. (It's revealing that Page identifies herself on the back of the book as a wife and mother first and a writer second.)

Further, only after John Cooper's death, which occurs near the end of the novel, does Dolly begin to assume a consciously political, active role in the miners' struggle for better working conditions rather than a role merely supportive of her husband. When Dolly does become active, she does so more from devotion to her husband's memory than from devotion to the struggle itself.

Despite its weaknesses, *Daughter of the Hills*, like *Bread Givers*, celebrates the strength and struggle of a proud, forceful woman. Feminists should joyfully welcome both novels back to the world of the living.

—Linda Greene
P.O. Box 804, Madison Square Station, NYC 10010.

Linda Greene is a socialist feminist who lives with another person and eight cats in Indiana.

Mary Beard's flawed legacy to feminists



Ann J. Lane, American historian, who is presently working on a biography of Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

MARY RITTER BEARD: A Source Book
Editor: Ann J. Lane
Schocken Books, 1977, \$15 (hardcover) \$6.95 (paper)

Ann J. Lane has rescued from undeserved obscurity a scholar and activist—Mary Beard—who strove almost obsessively over a lifetime to destroy the common belief that women are an oppressed class.

Probably few realize that the present burgeoning movement for women's studies had in Beard a vigorous forerunner. In 1936 she started a World Center for Women's Archives, operative until WWII choked off funds. With two women friends she produced a biting "Study of the Encyclopedia Britannica in Relation to its Treatment of Women." She offered to the AAUW in 1934 an imaginative 56-page "Syllabus for a Women's Study Course" that proposed a "creative alternative to 'equal education,'" holding that "man's education...has become so rigid, so scholastic, that to parallel it...would count for very little in the stimulation of social intelligence."

Her biography was not easy to reconstruct. For some unknown reason Mary and her husband Charles, two of the New Historians of this century, destroyed most of their papers, letters and manuscripts. Ann Lane brings Mary Beard to life as woman and thinker, using interviews with intimate friends and relatives, the few pertinent documents they were able to furnish, and an analysis of her writings and speeches. The body of the book consists of excerpts from these, each carefully placed in its historical setting.

Besides bearing and caring for two children, constant action in causes like the suffrage movement and defense of the McNamara

maras and active membership in the National Women's Trade Union League, Mary collaborated with her husband from 1914 to 1942 to produce a five-volume history that shaped the thinking of generations—*The Rise of American Civilization*. By herself, she wrote six other books, *Women as Force in History* (1946) being perhaps the best known.

Convinced from her study and her experience that, though invisible in history, women had been a central force, she promoted an ideal of a conscious community of women, proud of their distinctively female culture and capable of creating new, more humanistic social relations, to the benefit of men as well as of women.

In books, articles and speeches, she sought to show that in primitive societies, in the Middle Ages, and in modern European culture until the 19th century, women have exercised real and impressive power, not only in domestic affairs but in domains where men have been more visible.

She taught, with a bow to Engels, that women's fate is tied up with economic class rather than with sex. As Ann Lane paraphrases her: "Ruling class women in pre-capitalist periods ruled, as did ruling class men. Lower class women suffered, but as slaves or peasants, not primarily as women." Not until the rise of capitalism, of machine rather than home industry, of the tyranny of private property with its attendant changes in law, were women driven from a position of dignity and power equal to that of men.

Although she brought to light important evidence for her thesis, it is hard to understand her failure to acknowledge such phenomena of sexual oppression as rape, female infanticide, and other kinds of sexual violence. Her "incomplete view of women in history," as Ann Lane puts it,

"profoundly weakens her work."

In explanation, Lane suggests that "sexuality was identified with the hated Freudianism that humiliated women." One surmises that Beard carried from her Calvinist upbringing a view of sex as "nasty." She wrote, for example: "Women who are willing to cringe before nasty husbands are weak creatures by choice." "In many ways," Lane says, "she remained tied to the...conception of woman as mother."

Stressing that "oppression of women resides essentially within the minds of women," Beard strove to help women reconstruct their self-image. To accept themselves as a subject class is to struggle from a position of weakness and to take a too simple-minded goal of "equality" in a man's world. Knowledge of their great historical contributions to wealth, art, beauty, science and technology can enable them to struggle from a position of strength, and their goal should be the introduction of female values into our whole culture.

Beard argued against the value of college education for women, on the ground that such education tends to co-opt women into a man's world, developed by and for men, and unbalanced to boot. To quote Lane's paraphrase: "Bright, ambitious women, caught up in the careerism and conformity that are fostered in the university, lose their innovative potential... They jeopardize the power that comes from independence..."

Beard also opposed the Equal Rights Amendment for which the Women's party of her day fought. Along with many feminists, she feared that in the name of "equal treatment," women's painfully won protective legislation would be lost, whereas it ought, instead, to be legally extended to all workers. Many who hold her views today nevertheless give the Amendment full support as the most viable chance of promoting the general welfare. Beard could not bring herself to do this.

Ann Lane attributes Beard's onesidedness, in part, to an almost conscious attempt, by leaning too far in one direction, to redress the long distortion in the other. She points sympathetically to Beard's intellectual isolation (after she left activism for intellectual analysis). She had little support from the women's movement of her day and no group of colleagues whose criticisms might have sharpened and balanced her thought.

In spite of obvious exaggerations and inconsistencies, Mary Beard's legacy has worth. By placing women at the center of society and history, she forced historians to take a second look at the world from her perspective. In Ann Lane's view: "She devoted years to an idea whose time had not yet come... Each effort was blocked, each struggle frustrated... Yet, if great change is ever to come, it will be because women like Mary Beard persisted and endured."

—**Frances W. Herring**
Frances W. Herring is retired from the faculty of U.C. Berkeley and is active in the peace and environmental movements.

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE
Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7005
516-466-4642

*Congratulations on your newspaper...
I am glad to endorse it.
May it prove successful.*

E. Y. "Yip" Harburg

Lyricist

"Buddy, Can You Spare a Dime?"

Songs from "The Wizard of Oz"
and "Finian's Rainbow"



COMING SOON IN THESE TIMES

- Reports from Lebanon by Foreign Editor John Judis
- Religion as a Subversive Activity—a special issue
- Reporter Dan Marschall looks at the historical context of *F.I.S.T.*

SUBSCRIBE TODAY

- ☐ Send **IN THESE TIMES** for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of **IN THESE TIMES**. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

- ☐ Send me **IN THESE TIMES** for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of **IN THESE TIMES**. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

- ☐ Send **IN THESE TIMES** for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of **IN THESE TIMES**. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

Women's Writes

Woman since she got up on her own two feet



Elise Boulding, who has spent years researching the hidden history of women, is critical of the book that is the result.

THE UNDERSIDE OF HISTORY

By Elise Boulding
Westview Press, \$24.75

The Underside of History is a gigantic (800 page) attempt to document the role of women in society from the Paleolithic era to the 20th century.

Elise Boulding tries to do a "macrohistory" of what she calls the underside—the world hidden from recorded history—the world in which women have traditionally moved—the private space—the kitchen, the market, the court-

yard, the service areas where women's culture exists. She tells us that "the history of human kind has been written as if it were the history of western man" and that this portrait of human development is only a documentation of the "overlife"—the public sphere where the course of historical events is "defined and acted upon." She wants to "recover some of the wholeness of the human identity by going back to sample the invisible side of history—to bring women to life."

After presenting us with her motivations for embarking upon such a vast project, Boulding launches into the age of the Hom-

inids to demonstrate how physiological/societal evolution has helped determine the role of women. She engages in the ongoing debate as to why women have often ended up as "sedentaries," and joins a long list of historians, anthropologists and sociologists who ask whether the role of women has increased or diminished with "advanced" civilization.

Although she doesn't give us a conclusive answer to any of these questions, she does provide enough information to make us want to dig deeper—to find more historically rooted solutions.

There is something to fascinate

and seduce everyone here. She gives us information about Eskimo women, Viking culture, nomadic life—Bedouins and Gypsies—Celts, Goths and women in both Christianity and Judaism. The material is presented with integrity and care, even when Boulding is forced to skim quickly over women's varied roles in production. Actually each section could itself be an entire text.

For example, in the discussion of the Hominids we learn that "in the Peistocene the combination of drought-induced shortages of vegetable food, biological accommodations of the female to hominid evolution and the need for babies to be carried as they lost their grasping facility, limited the female's freedom of movement at the same time that it expanded the male's."

This means that just when their hands were freed by walking upright, mothers found those hands fully occupied with babies. This came at relatively the same time as the disappearance of "heat" in the female (which allowed sexual relationships to be based more on choice) and at the same time as the invention of "home base" and the active pursuit of animals for food (which created sex-based division of labor among the hunters and the women).

When she moves to ancient Greece, Boulding presents the argument that "women had considerably more to do with creating Greek culture than is recognized. The hetairae, the independent or free women, moved within the agora (the public, social space) to debate questions of science, philosophy, mathematics, and aesthetics with the men. Sappho, as we might have guessed, was not alone as the only woman poet of the time; there were in fact 76 others. And intellectual men related to these women much as "liberal male university professors now, who want to recognize women as their colleagues but... need the reassurance that their own wives will continue to stay at home."

Once she reaches class-based society, Boulding is careful al-

ways to cover what different economic groups of women were doing at a given moment, and how these groups did or did not relate to one another. When she offers us a portrait of the uprising of the Paris Commune, it is to tell us that although women participated in many phases of the Commune and were involved in all its risks and achievements, they were not permitted to participate in political decision-making. When the 1871 Declaration of the Commune was issued, "like all previous declarations that were to inaugurate a new society it... said not a word about the participation of women."

The book becomes disappointing when Boulding tries to cover all the events of the 19th and 20th centuries. She feels the need to retell what has already been told, as well as to dig deeper to "sample" the underside. The result is that we get paragraphs of catalogued information and a skimming of events better covered elsewhere. And the mass of material Boulding is trying to cover makes it difficult to maintain the poetry and passion that made the first half of the book captivating.

Boulding herself calls the book "a failure—a travesty of the history I wanted to record." Her preface articulates every problem, limitation, eccentricity, failure of vision and bias that she believes has diminished its effect. She also lists all those women to whom she is indebted—sociologists, historians, anthropologists—who gave her just enough information to inspire years of research.

With this book she adds her own name to that list of scholars. The next person to undertake the task of uncovering a layer of what has remained invisible in women's history will have to begin where Boulding leaves off. *The Underside of History* is a precursor of many more books to come, either by Elise Boulding or others.

—Carol Becker
Westview Press is at 5500 Central Ave., Boulder, CO 80301. Carol Becker teaches women's history and literature in Chicago.

CLASSIFIED

IMPRESS YOUR FRIENDS with limited edition In These Times T-shirts! Only eight left, size small (34-36). \$5 to ITT, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

AMHERST: ITT distributor is leaving town and established sales route. Needs replacement. 1-2 hours work/wk. with car. Call Dan, 546-7147 in Amherst—NOW.

CLASS STRUGGLE—The FIRST board game to show how capitalism really works—created by Dr. B. Ollman, Professor of Politics at NYU. Beginners, Advanced and Tournament Rules make it possible for children and adults to play the game for fun and (educational) profit. Mail \$9.95 (includes handling & postage in U.S.) to Class Struggle, Inc., 487 Broadway, Dept. K, NY, NY 10013 (NY residents add \$.80 sales tax).

IN CHICAGO

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. 20% discount on all new books. Mail inquiries are welcome. Tel. (312) 525-3667

11 to 7:30 p.m., 6 days

Guild Bookstore
1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614

THE NEW SOCIALIST: Independent inquiry into problems of socialism. Now in 4th year. Sample copy on request. Box 18026, Denver, CO 80218. \$2 per year.

TYPESETTING: IN THESE TIMES is now setting jobs at very reasonable rates. IN THESE TIMES typesets and other on hand. Will set large or small jobs. For stylesheet or estimate contact: In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, 489-4444.

THIRD NATIONAL INTENSIVE MARXIST SCHOOL—Non-sectarian study of Marx's Capital. Lessons of the Russian Revolution, Development of U.S. Capitalism and Science and Method—For committed and mature people at any theoretical level. Day classes in July at the School for Marxist Education in New York City: 2-week session - \$75; 4 weeks - \$125. Housing arranged. Write for free catalog and application: P.O. Box 560, Old Chelsea Sta., NYC 10011 or call (212) 989-6493.

FOR SALE

GARBAGE DRUMS—Buy 3 Get 1 Free: \$7 each, free del. Chicago 878-1245.

CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

Arthur Shelton, 106334, JRCC infirmary, State Farm, VA 23160. James Walter Sanders, 026418, P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091.

NEW YORK READERS
The Outlook for Eurocommunism
After the French Elections

Speakers:

Bogdan Denitch
DSOC International Committee
Max Gordon, Editor, Viewpoint
Former editor, Daily Worker
Moderator, Louis Menashe
Writer on Soviet affairs
Fri., May 19, 7:30 pm
City University Graduate Center
33 W. 42nd St., Rm 1437

Sponsors: New York ITT
Associates & DSOC
Free Admission

HELP WANTED

COLLEGE OMBUDSPERSON—Responsibilities include: advising and aiding students with college-related problems, serving as liaison between students and faculty/administration, being advocate of student rights and freedoms. Good organizational, verbal and writing skills necessary. Salary: \$8500-\$9000. Accompanying resume, submit 250-750 word statement answering: What should the role of students be in the shaping of their educational experience and how can an ombudsperson facilitate this end? To: Joel Greifinger, c/o SGA, SUB Room 428, SUNY, New Paltz, NY 12561. Deadline: May 19.

MARX, POULANTZAS, GRAMSCI, et al.: large selection US & imported books: political economy, critical theory, phenomenology. GREAT EXPECTATIONS BOOKSTORE, 911 Foster, Evanston, IL 60201, (312) 864-3881. Mail orders a specialty. (BAC & MC).

KANSAS CITY AREA READERS: May 24 Chautauqua "Disarmament, Now or Never" at the Fookiller, 39th & Main, 7:30 pm. \$1 donation, free child care. Sponsored by In These Times Associates.

VICTIMS by J.L. Barkas (Scribner's, June, \$10.95) "...an excellent eye-opening look at a subject we comfortably ignore—until it happens to us." (Bookviews). SPECIAL PRE-PUBLICATION OFFER: Send \$9.95 for an autographed copy to: ISSUES THAT MATTER, Box 1419, FDR Station, New York 10022.

CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT, Stevens Point, WI, June 2 and 3. Over 30 CDC resource people from around the U.S. 16 workshops on CDC's and employment generation, appropriate technology, energy, forestry, family farming, housing, etc. LEARN MORE ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES FOR DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY-BASED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT—Registration \$6 individuals, \$12 organizations. More information: E.G. Nadeau, COACT Research, 731 State St., Madison, WI 53703, (608) 251-2702.

GUTSY, PERSISTANT INDIVIDUAL needed to work as full-time fundraiser for In These Times. \$900/month against 10% of money raised. Interested? Call and convince us we should hire you. Nick Rabkin, 312/489-4444.

SEVEN DAYS—A major national alternative magazine. Solid, independent-radical accounts of news: international, national, culture, features and arts. See the whole picture. 206 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010.

IN CHICAGO

EDUCATION FOR CHANGE 3

ALTERNATIVE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS
LOCAL CONTROL THAT WORKS

MAY 13 and 14

2324 North Seminary

Featuring: Herb Gintis, Jose Angel Gutierrez, Ken Haskins, Ericka Huggins, Jon Kozol, Carl Marburger, Joel Spring, Preston Wilcox, Luis Fuentes.

Speeches, workshops, exhibits, job board, films, videotapes.

Sponsored by:

ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS NETWORK

1105 W. Lawrence, Rm. 210
Chicago, IL 60640 312/728-4030

Women's Writes

Documentary history of women in the U.S.

THE FEMALE EXPERIENCE:
An American Documentary
By Gerda Lerner
Bobbs-Merrill, \$12.50

Despite its grandiose title, this is a worthwhile anthology of documents about American women, chiefly in the 19th century. Apparently intended as a text in American history and women's studies, it reads easily and contains valuable material for the history of socialist and feminist thought.

Over half the book comes from previously unpublished manuscripts, mostly diaries and letters. Rare printed sources contribute another third. Lerner wisely stresses material not readily available elsewhere. For example, she scans the suffrage movement but includes items on women's institution-building in health care. Most of the documents are coherent and satisfying as excerpted—an improvement over the author's useful but fragmented 1972 collection, *Black Women in White America*.

Lerner divides her book into three main sections: "The Female Life Cycle"; "Women in Male-Defined Society," that is, women in the public spheres of education, paid work, and politics; and "A New Definition of Womanhood." Many familiar figures speak to us (Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Sarah Grimke, Elizabeth Blackwell, Louisa May Alcott) and some exciting new heroines also emerge.

We learn that Salome Lincoln, a mill worker and strike leader



Gerda Lerner, whose other books include *THE WOMAN IN AMERICAN HISTORY* and *BLACK WOMEN IN WHITE AMERICA*.

turned preacher, lectured in public in 1827, ten years before the celebrated Grimke tour. Fascinating Jane Swisshelm ran away from her husband, founded and ran a newspaper and later became a Civil War nurse. Lerner includes a sampler of documents by black, immigrant, rural and working-class women and a few pieces by men to or about women.

Her section on the life cycle emphasizes the confinement inherent in women's traditional roles. Yet her selections also illustrate the attractive warmth of the 19th century family. One girl who grew up under an oppressive Calvinist father tells us that when

she feared damnation, she insisted her father keep his arms around her. We see independent daughters learning from their mothers' examples, and we appreciate the social and familial contexts of sickness and death in women's lives.

The lack of effective birth control, Lerner argues, made 19th century American women use the language of sexual purity where we would speak of controlling our own bodies. She prints remarkable, casual letters from young Lucy Stone to her brothers and sister on the advisability of "marital restraint."

Several documents illustrate

the productive, demanding life of the preindustrial housewife. Among other tasks, Lydia Maria Childa wrote 235 letters and six newspaper articles, made three pairs of corsets, mended 70 pair of stockings and swept her house 350 times in 1864. No wonder Catherine Beecher's *Domestic Receipt Book*, a 1846 best seller, assured housewives "you really have great trials to meet."

The section on housework is closed by Mary Inman's fine 1940 analysis written for *Daily People's World*. Inman argues against the notion that the husband is the wife's employer and instead shows capitalism profiting from housework while the housewife is "robbed" both "of the value of her toil" and of "credit for doing useful labor."

The section of the book on "Women in Male-Defined Society" includes several documents on organizing women workers, as well as debates by UAW and ILWU representatives about protective legislation, equal pay and the ERA. We also hear the views of trade unionist Rose Schneiderman, socialist Lena Morrow Lewis and revolutionary Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Lerner notes how conservative and patriarchal "ideology is adapted to and transformed in the interest of class privilege" in a book advising maids how to behave. And we find the resolutions of the Salem, Ohio, Women's Rights Convention in 1850 deeply conscious of class distinctions under patriarchy. "One class of society dooms women to a life of drudgery, another to one of dependence and frivolity." They recommend instead a single standard of morality and of educational and occupational opportunity for men and all women.

The last section of the book is

the least clear in its conception. Material on "the right to her own body," focusing on birth control, protection from rape and freedom of sexual preference, seems to belong with earlier discussions of "marital restraint."

Lerner claims that Elizabeth Cady Stanton has "an astonishingly modern approach" to female self-sufficiency and that Sojourner Truth "finally and completely transcended social restraints... She personifies the liberated woman." Yet Lerner consistently underplays the Christian context of the 19th century American feminism that caused Stanton to identify her cause with "the individuality of each human soul—our Protestant idea."

Lerner's documents always speak for themselves; her editorial comments do not. She refers to women as "they," but American history as "ours." She argues persuasively that women's history will need a new periodization not based on male politics, but she provides nothing except large generalizations about industrialization and urbanization. She says women "always have been at least half of all Americans," but later refers to an undefined "sex ratio" favorable to women.

Finally, Lerner asserts that the "step-by-step progression by which women emancipate themselves intellectually... was repeated over and over again, by succeeding generations of women." Her documents provide splendid examples of such individual emancipation and of some of the organizational efforts of American women based on this new consciousness.

—Judith Kegan Gardiner
Judith Kegan Gardiner teaches English and women's studies at the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

A model for the other states to match

NYCLU GUIDE TO WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN NEW YORK STATE
By Eve Cary
Pantheon, N.Y., 1978, \$1.65

For women (and men) who live in New York State there is now available a well-organized, easily understood, pocket-size paperback guide to women's rights un-

der the existing law and how to go about getting them. Women (and men) in the other 49 states should be so lucky.

The guide was written by Eve Cary, who served for seven years as a staff attorney for the New York Civil Liberties Union and has done two other books on related subjects, *The Rights of Students* and *Women and the Law*.

The areas covered include marriage, name change and divorce; reproductive freedom (birth control and/or abortion), pregnancy and rape; employment and unemployment; social security, welfare and taxes—not in that order. But perhaps the most valuable chapter of all is the one entitled "How to Go About Making the Law Work for You."

THE NYCLU GUIDE TO WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN NEW YORK STATE

Eve Cary

In six pages of large print, Cary makes suggestions about the best direction in which to look for redress of grievances, gives directions on how to draw up a complaint, explains the possible results of such a step, and finishes off with a list of the addresses and phone numbers of city, state and federal agencies that are supposed to help women obtain the rights they have won on the statute books.

The book is not only eminently worth its low price for those in a geographic position to put it to use; it should also serve as a model and a motivator for women's and civil liberties groups above and beyond the Hudson. —J.S.

Farce Premises Farce Promises

Continued from page 24.

erans. As a result the movie hangs together and builds laughter and audience involvement to the last frames of the final fade.

The problems of youth.

One reason for the success of *I Wanna Hold Your Hand* and the flimsiness of its content may be the conviction on the part of its makers that "the target movie audience for commercial films is now between the ages of 15 and 30."

Zemeckis told IN THESE TIMES that "after 30, people just don't go to the movies. They're married and probably have a kid, and

it's too expensive or something." Whether or not this is true, the people who are making (and financing) films apparently believe it. Designing entertainment for this audience seems to mean plots about teen-age problems, played by casts whose average age is half way between 15 and 30, written and directed by prodigies to whom Stephen Spielberg (the 30-year-old creator of *Jaws* and *Close Encounters*) is an old man.

Getting born.

Another interesting contrast between the two films is the story of their birth pains.

Rivers has an established repu-

tation as a writer as well as a performer, and her husband, Edgar Rosenberg, is a successful TV producer. But when they took the screenplay of *Rabbit Test* around to studios for the necessary backing, it was turned down, as Rivers told IN THESE TIMES, "on the grounds that Elaine May's last picture bombed."

In the end the couple decided to do it themselves. They formed Laugh or Die Productions and began to raise the million dollars they figured they needed. Before they were through they had hosted 261 dinner parties for prospective investors and mortgaged the family home. They got the money—without the blessing of the banks, and with Rivers directing "because we couldn't afford the people we really wanted"—and the film was brought in for a few thousand under the budget.

(Last week *Variety* reported that *Rabbit Test* was the biggest box-office grosser in the nation. The investors will get their money

back and the Rivers-Rosenberg homestead will not be foreclosed.)

Zemeckis and Gale had no such struggle. They took their idea to a pair of women producers, Tarama Asseyev and Alex Rose, who were old enough to remember the actual invasion by the Liverpooldians, and on the basis of a one-sentence synopsis, they got a deal that subsidized the writing of the screenplay.

They took the finished script to Stephen Spielberg, who liked it and them, and agreed to act as executive producer. On the strength of his commitment, Universal was persuaded to put up \$3 million, provide all production facilities and handle national distribution. According to Zemeckis, Spielberg did not interfere in production decisions and may even have been responsible for restraining the studio from "normal" interference.

What next?

In a satiric farce about the way

motion pictures are manufactured, Zemeckis and Gale would have choked to death on these silver spoons. In real life, they are already at work on a second screenplay, to be directed by Spielberg, and are thinking about a third, which Zemeckis will direct and Gale will produce.

Rivers and collaborator Redack are also at work on a second script—something about a plot to kidnap an entire line of chorus girls. Money is available, but they are opting for the independence of Laugh or Die Productions. Rivers will, of course, direct.

It would be nice for all us movie-goers if she has learned from the mistakes made in *Rabbit Test* that farce is a horse that must not be allowed to get the bit between his teeth, and if Zemeckis and Gale learn from their success that once you've got a bridle on the critter, you can trust it to carry more weight than a box of popcorn and a can of diet coke.

—Janet Stevenson

Farce Premises Farce Promises



Satiric farce is the most effective, popular kind of social criticism, but it's a very tricky form. Two writer/directors tackle it in their first films, with differing results.

RABBIT TEST

Written by Joan Rivers and Jay Redack
Directed by Joan Rivers
Produced by Edgar Rosenberg
Avco-Embassy release, Rated PG

I WANNA HOLD YOUR HAND

Written by Robert Zemeckis and Bob Gale
Directed by Robert Zemeckis
Produced by Tamara Asseyev and Alex Rose
Universal release, Rated PG

Satiric farce is one of the brightest stars in the firmament of American humor, probably the most effective and certainly the most popular medium of social criticism. There's been a lot of it around lately: films like *Fun with Dick and Jane* and *Which Way Is Up*, and most of Woody Allen's; TV's *Saturday Night Live*; Chicago's Second City cabaret and similar improvisational ensembles; and, on records and the radio stations that play them, a spectrum of talent that ranges from the Firesign Theatre to Stan Frieberg.

Most of the time this type of comedy comes off better in short sketches than in full-length treatment. (Even Woody Allen couldn't handle an hour and 40 min-

utes of movie before *Annie Hall*.) But there are two farce comedies now playing the neighborhoods that are doing the kind of business that qualifies them as successful. Both are "firsts" for their respective writer/directors.

Rabbit Test is the "immaculate misconception" of Joan Rivers, an experienced stand-up comedian, who has worked on TV and stage plays, but has never before played in, much less written and directed a motion picture.

I Wanna Hold Your Hand is the work of Robert Zemeckis and Bob Gale, both 26 years old, both graduates of the film department of the University of Southern California and without previous experience at writing and/or directing a commercial feature. (Gale collaborated on the script and served as associate producer. Zemeckis co-wrote and directed solo.)

Few beginners pull off the double challenge of writing and directing on their first try. Two in one season may be the sign of a cinematic renaissance. But what is more significant is the ways in which these "first" films differ because they point up the possibilities and the pitfalls of the form.

There are two parts to the problem—satiric content and farce

form—and one of the difficulties is making them work together.

Satire is essentially serious. It has to be *against* (and therefore, *for*) something of importance to society. From Aristophanes to the *National Lampoon*, corruption in government has been a prime target. Gilbert and Sullivan compiled a list of "society offenders who might well be underground." Stan Frieberg's poison darts were aimed at the advertising industry and its effect on America's values. Woody Allen has a "little list" much longer than G&S's.

Joan Rivers gets off to a good start with the notion that, for the first time in human history, casual sex leaves the man, instead of the woman, pregnant. It's a set-up for attacking stereotyped sex roles, but Rivers also has other targets in mind—like the callousness of hospitals, the venality of doctors, the Madison Avenue approach to foreign policy.

The trouble is she hasn't made a very good movie—not because she can't handle satire (though she is occasionally guilty of some embarrassing lapses of taste), but because she can't handle the farce form.

Most of what Rivers takes pokes at deserves it. When one of her punches lands, there are

cheers along with laughter. But a lot of the time she is swinging wild. Rivers is mistress of the one-liner, but the screen is essentially a visual, not an aural medium. A joke that would be hilarious if she tossed it at you on stage (or in close-up) without changing the expression on her pretty, blank little face, gets beaten to death on the wide screen, even by such old hands as Imogene Coca and George Gobel.

But the biggest problem is the underlying structure of her plot. Farce is a very rigid form. It must start with an illogical premise (the pregnant male, for example) and proceed thereafter in a consistent logic of cause and effect. Rivers violates her own logic time and again, planting a plot line in one sequence, only to trip over and uproot it in the next.

Interest starts to sag. She labors harder to shore it up. The story begins to zig-zag as crazily as a ball in a pin-ball machine. Laughter in the audience falters more and more frequently and finally dies out.

The case with *I Wanna Hold Your Hand* is just the reverse. Social criticism, at least for the present, is not an element in Zemeckis and Gale's "philosophy." They have thought about "the object

of the motion picture art" and concluded, according to Zemeckis, that it is "to entertain."

But if these young filmmakers are not very original thinkers on aesthetics, they are way out in front in matters of technique. Satire may not be their thing. But farce is.

Their premise is that six perfectly normal New Jersey teenagers go temporarily insane because they want to get into the Beatles' U.S. debut on the Ed Sullivan show. From the moment when the class square "borrows" a limousine from his father's undertaking establishment, one thing follows from another with indisputable logic.

It's not a real world up there on the screen. (People can fall out of speeding cars, dive through plate glass, get struck by lightning, and so forth, without getting hurt.) But it is absolutely consistent in its unreality. The plot twists and turns, faster and faster, with more and more outrageous results, but it is never out of the writers' control.

The direction is equally authoritative. Zemeckis has imposed on his ebullient young performers the kind of restraint that Rivers did not manage to impose on her vet-

Continued on page 23.